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PRIVATE DIARY

OF

GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON, C.M.T.,

&c. &c. &c.

VOLUME I.

PRIVATE DIARY

OF

TRAVELS, PERSONAL SERVICES, AND PUBLIC EVENTS,

DURING MISSION AND EMPLOYMENT WITH THE EUROPEAN ARMIES IN THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1812, 1813, 1814.

FROM THE INVASION OF RUSSIA TO THE CAPTURE OF PARIS.

By GEN^L. SIR ROBERT WILSON, C.M.T.,

BARON OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; G.C.ST.A. OF RUSSIA; K.C.ST.G. OF RUSSIA; G.C.R.E. OF PRUSSIA, ETC. ETC. ETC.

EDITED BY HIS NEPHEW AND SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. HERBERT RANDOLPH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1861.

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Introduction to Sir Robert Wilson's 'Narrative of the French Invasion of Russia in 1812,' published in the spring of the current year, the following statement of the facts of his employment upon the service which enabled him to become the historian of that great conflict of far-separated Empires was given from his own memoranda.

"On the 6th of May, 1810, he offered himself for the service to which he was ultimately appointed, in a letter addressed to the Marquess Wellesley.

"In August of the same year Lord Wellesley signified his acceptance of this offer of service.

"On the 29th of November, 1811, Sir Robert Wilson received the official notice of his appointment to a special service; but delays still occurred, and the designation of service was not finally communicated and the authority given for proceeding upon his mission, until March the 26th, 1812.

"On the 8th of April, 1812, he sailed from England with the embassy (Mr. Liston having been appointed ambassador to Constantinople) in H. M. ship 'Argo,' 'under special instructions, and with the rank of Brigadier-General in the British army.' ".

The 'Diary' now published traverses the period of the 'Invasion,' but extends beyond it through the campaigns of Germany, and the operations of the allied army in Italy—after Sir Robert Wilson joined

Marshal Bellegarde at his head-quarters at Vicenza in January 1814—down to the occupation of Paris by the forces of the Allies in the summer of the same year.

It is much more, however, than a record of military details. Sir Robert Wilson was an observant traveller, and has given in his 'Diary' descriptions of cities and countries which he touched or passed through during his progress: Spain, Sicily, Islands of the Archipelago, Turkey—in Asia and in Europe—Russia, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France. Throughout the whole time, from his arrival at Constantinople in June, 1812, he was in close official communication and intimate friendly connection with sovereigns and the commanders of their armies, or with their ministers and ambassadors; in short, with almost every man of note and name who bore a part, military or diplomatic, on the Continent of Europe, in the stirring events of those years.

With a faithful and vigourous pencil he has sketched the features, natural, social, and political, of the several countries, and drawn with equal force and truth the characters of prominent persons in the moving drama; stating facts only of action and relation, carefully and laboriously ascertained; and interspersing his narrative as occasion offered with lively anecdote, remarks acute, profound, or humourous, and heroic sentiment.

The Editor affirmed in the Introduction to the 'Russian Campaign' that Sir Robert Wilson "won his title to his Sovereign's favour nobly:" these volumes are offered as inceptive evidence in verification of

that assertion. In the course of them will be found recorded his personal share in the transactions of diplomacy and war, and the recognition of his merit by the exalted personages who were cited as his witnesses.

A series of despatches to Lord Cathcart is added in the second Appendix to the first volume: partly as being matter injuriously suppressed at the time when it would have been of the greatest value—informing the public mind of the true position of affairs at the seat of war, and testifying the writer's qualifications for the office which he held, of British Commissioner at the head-quarters of the armies and military correspondent with his Government—partly as being essential to the utility and interest of the work itself as a fountain of authentic history.

The Appendix to the second volume consists of letters from H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Liston, the Duke of Oldenburg, Prince Metternich, Prince Czartoryski, and Lord Aberdeen to Sir Robert Wilson; a series of letters from Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Aberdeen—an episode in his personal intercourse, corroborating and supplementing the Diary and Despatches—and one despatch from Italy, addressed to Lord Castlereagh, numbered 41, and extracted from the book referred to in vol. ii., p. 328.

The first Appendix to the first volume contains two papers on a question of vivid interest to the classical student—the 'Site of Homer's Troy' and the topography of Mount Ida. They are printed as they are

found, transcribed apparently some years after 1812 from full notes and a general outline drawn up at the time. The Editor makes no attempt to reconcile the difficulties which will present themselves in the critique on Mr. Chevalier's work to a discerning and well-instructed reader. It will be observed that this is only a negative essay: any serious endeavour hereafter to determine the question positively will be a work of manifold labour. It should only be made by a traveller moved by strong but tempered enthusiasm, of first-rate intelligence, a sound scholar, with unlimited command of material resources, unfettered in time, undaunted by difficulties, unconquerable in patience; honest and courageous enough to confess a failure if, with all these advantages, determination should prove to be impossible.

The Editor publishes these papers as a help to such an attempt, from a conviction that they are very valuable as a contribution to the mass of opinion already accumulated. The first presents a military criticism of one prominent theory by a most honest and competent judge; and the second is a true and graceful description of a scene in which the spirit of poetry still dwells, and touches sympathetic intellect—like that of Sir Robert Wilson—with its quickening power.

Gratitude is due to friends of Sir Robert Wilson, who since the publication of his posthumous volume have, unsolicited, placed at the Editor's disposal papers relating to the wars of these and of former years and to the events and circumstances of his

political life. There are certainly in other hands large quantities of similar material. If any more such papers should be entrusted to him by their possessors it will confer much obligation, and he pledges himself to use them with discretion and regard to the wishes of those who show him this kindness and confidence. By means of them he may be enabled to frame a fuller history of a character of no common dignity and a life of singularly romantic incident.

In correspondence with different friends, from knowledge of varying characteristics, motives of action which from some points of view are shaded and comparatively unseen, are often brought into prominence; illustrating the writer's principles and throwing them into the light and foreground of the moral picture.

It is not the design of the Editor now or hereafter to write a laboured encomium. His purpose is to present Sir Robert Wilson to the generation and to posterity in the simple truth of his personal story: respecting in him that ennobling modesty which ever sensitively shrank from self-display.

Conscious he was of high gifts—thankful to the Giver—sensible of his responsibility in the use of them; and when he "proudly claimed" at his Sovereign's hands the recognition and reward of that use for the public service, it was as vindicating, not for himself alone but for all loyal servants of their king and country, one of those great primary rights which lie firmest and deepest on the elemental rock at the very base of human society.

Now beyond the reach of earthly reward, he speaks in these records of his acts and time to his living countrymen, from the company of his kindred nobility in the tomb;* challenges the honour which while he lived himself he rendered in full measure to every worthy man, and commends to the hearts of the just and brave in every land the custody of his name and fame.

HERBERT RANDOLPH.

Tolbury House, Bruton,
December 11th, 1860.

---

*. Sir Robert and Lady Wilson are buried in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, near the western entrance. A Brass will be placed to mark the spot, early in the new year, close to the small square stone inscribed "O rare Ben Jonson."

POSTSCRIPT.

On the morning of the day (Dec. 14th, 1860) on which this Introduction first came to the Editor's hands in proof from the MS., 'The Times' announced the death of Lord Aberdeen.

Associated as his Lordship's name is in the 'Diary' with services of Sir Robert Wilson — entire and generous as was the friendship existing, while both lived, between two men like-minded in honour and fidelity and all high qualities, as witnessed by these, and by other unpublished memorials, the Editor would have been strongly moved, on these grounds alone, to add some sign of mourning in this place.

But the deceased nobleman, only a few months since, voluntarily placed in his hands the valuable extracts from letters from himself to Lord Castlereagh at pages 223, 224, vol. ii., and the whole series from Sir Robert Wilson to himself in the Appendix to the same volume; and he trusts that this fact may warrant, without intrusion on the family for permission at such a moment, his personal expression of respectful sorrow, and his public acknowledgment of a courteous kindness which proves the warm-hearted friendship of Lord Aberdeen to have continued faithful to the end.

H. R.

December 14th, 1860.

ERRATA.—VOL. I.

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99	.. ..	25	Barba	Baba.
106	Heading ..	22, &c.	Karaboya	Caraboya, *passim*.
207	.. ..	9, &c.	Czartorinsky ..	Czartorysky, *passim*.
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317	Heading and	11	Seranitz	Quaritz.
324	.. ..	11, &c.	Sakowsky	Sulkowsky.
381	.. ..	14, &c.	Tapakeia	Tapikeia, *passim*.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON'S
Narrative & Journal
of the
FRENCH CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA.
WEST
RUSSIA
BLACK
SEA
CORSICA
SARDINIA

PRIVATE DIARY

OF

GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON,

C.M.T., &c. &c. &c.,

DURING HIS MISSIONS AND EMPLOYMENT IN 1812, 1813, 1814,

IN

TURKEY, RUSSIA, GERMANY, AND ITALY.

H.M.S. "Argo," Bay of Biscay,
April 12th, 1812.

On the 8th of April the Embassy embarked * at ten o'clock in the morning; at six in the evening reached St. Helen's.

9*th*.—Fresh gales, and fair; night of the 9th, blew very strong.

10*th*.—Same weather; all passengers sick.

11*th*.—Calm.

12*th*.—Strong gale — foul, and accompanied with dirty weather.

In the morning spoke the merchant-ship "Dido" from Oporto. No news. Afterwards spoke a convoy of thirty sail proceeding to England. Divine service read.

13*th*.—Foul wind; heavy swell and frequent squalls. Towards evening moderate weather.

April 14th, Bay of Biscay.

In the evening of the 13th much lightning; at night heavy gales and high seas. This morning more moderate, but still foul wind, and ship very

* At Portsmouth.

uneasy. Mr. Liston, as his wife tells us, always plays on the flute when he would charm H. M.'s Ministers by the composition of his despatches. I wish he could be our "Magnus Apollo" with Neptune.

15*th*.—At night a foul wind and frequent rain. The same weather continued till within half-an-hour of the time at which I am writing, when the ship laid her course, and we are in progress at the rate of two miles an hour. On yesterday's log we could only score ten miles progress. There is, however, now experience of relief from the spell of the Siroc.

I have been reading Lord Byron's poem, and recommend its perusal, *verse* and *prose*. He will not perhaps be a favourite with any public; but his work will survive the more popular compositions of Walter Scott, Mr. Warton, or Lord George Grenville. His observations on the Turkish and Greek character are very just. His remarks on the Portuguese are severe, but unfortunately too warrantable; and his indignation against Lord Elgin is felt by many, even in this age of rapine and violation of all national laws, to be worthy of an Englishman of better times. His "Thyrza" is Mrs. Spencer Smith.

Mignot's 'History of the Turks,' translated by A. Hawkins, and in my library, is a work which I also would advise to be read, as it contains very interesting matter, particularly as connected with my present service. Modern Turks vary little from their ancestors in any of the characteristics which heretofore distinguished them; and religion has preserved unimpaired amongst them that martial fanaticism which the spirit of chivalry once applied to Chris-

tianity, but which in vain contended against the Crescent. Therefore the perusal of their history will not only afford subject for interesting reflection, but give a knowledge of men as they are, and of those powers which can always be excited to action when the animating principle of genius in a chief may be applied.

The want of a capable chief would in the other countries of Europe be a want without a remedy; but the constitution of the Ottoman empire so forces ambitious talent, that exigent circumstances always produce leaders equal to the need.

I would recommend my friend, who proposed to me the establishment of monarchy in Canada, to seek his king among the Mussulmen.

16*th*.—After ten minutes' fair breeze the wind died away, and we have been becalmed all the succeeding twenty-four hours.

17*th*.—In the evening of the 16th discovered the "Grampus" astern. The whole day calm. At two this morning a fair breeze sprang up, which has freshened, and we are now in the latitude of Cape Finisterre, bidding adieu to the Bay of Biscay at the rapid rate, for H.M.S. "Argo," of eight knots per hour.

18*th*.—Heavy rains all night, but fair breezes. Expect to make the Berling Rocks, twelve leagues from the Rock of Lisbon, about noon. "Grampus" four miles astern.

April 19th, off the Coast of Algarves.

Fresh and fair breeze continued, but with frequent rain, which was not expected at this season of the year so far south. Telegraphed off Lisbon with the

"Bristol" (*ci-devant* "Agincourt"), by which communication we learnt that Badajos had been taken by storm on the 6th of this month; three thousand prisoners made, and our loss in all four thousand.

We separated so rapidly that no more could be made out. This précis is however enough to establish an important fact, the capture of a most interesting fortified position on the Guadiana. But I presume from the assault being ordered that Marmont must be in movement; and as yet I can neither express nor form any opinion as to the result of offensive operations which commenced at a moment so unlikely to command success.

John Bull must, I think, soon begin to consider heads as of some value. He must not say as one of the Sultans did—"When we have got rid of these asses we will begin to work with horses"—for his most generous breed will perish first.

20*th*.—Fair wind blew till three this morning, and brought us within fifty miles of Cadiz. We passed close under Cape St. Vincent; the only feature on the coast worth observation.

On the summit of the lofty cliff which overhangs the ocean is a strong convent; and a little to the southward is seen the village and fort of Lagos, that defends a port capable of sheltering small vessels.

In the evening we passed and spoke the "Pelorus" with convoy for Gibraltar, and saw various vessels in different directions. It was the first mild day we had seen since our departure from Portsmouth, and we had only to regret that all our friends could not participate in our gratification.

At three this morning it became calm, and our

hopes of landing at Cadiz this day are diminished; but, as the breeze is springing, we may possibly anchor in the bay before night.

April 21st, Cadiz.

We anchored in the Road of Cadiz about eight o'clock yesterday evening, after having enjoyed a most beautiful scene, but the "Panorama" in London had already impressed us with an accurate idea of it.

No one would land but myself. Captain Devonshire of the navy, who had come on board, lent me his boat, and after a row of three miles through an infinite number of vessels of all descriptions, I disembarked at the port gates, which are at the northern entrance of the city. My first point was the house of Mr. Duff, the Consul, which is situated at the southern end of Cadiz, so I had to pass through a great part of it, and never was I more struck with the appearance of a place. The loftiness of the houses, their gigantic door-ways, the regularity of the streets, the magnificence of the public buildings, the numerous shops, the profusion in the markets (especially of fruit and vegetables), the groups of soldiers, cavalleros, and señoras, combined with a variety of moving incidents to excite the quickest attention, and impress a most favourable opinion.

Having arranged what I proposed with Mr. Duff, I went to Sir H. Wellesley, who was very friendly, and with whom I had a confidential conversation on the state of affairs at home and abroad.

He concurs with all the sentiments of the Marquess, and particularly insists upon the necessity of increased

exertion on the part of the British Government; in which case Spain has every chance of success, since her Government is now constituted in the most satisfactory manner; but he considers that "a less energetic system is fraught with assured ruin," and thinks that "without this support from England the defence of Portugal would be very problematical, both as to its practicability and value."

The want of specie he describes to be the most serious difficulty, and one which meets him every moment.

General Doyle gave me up his lodging, where I passed the night pretty well, but a little inquieted by mosquitoes.

I have now risen at five o'clock to ramble over the town before breakfast, as I once did at Rome when I surprised the Minister, Mr. Windham, by my knowledge of a place in which I had only arrived a few hours.

All my arrangements for the inspection of the Isla are already made.

I could pick up little information about what was passing here, and *none* of the operations in Portugal, except that there are great fears entertained for Ciudad Rodrigo, with which place it appears Marmont proposes to indemnify himself; but I shall be much surprised if Soult, with his twenty-six thousand men at Seville, remains idle or suffers us to be so on the Guadiana. As Lord William left Badajos six hours after its capture (which Doyle tells me was a most fortuitous success, as our columns were repulsed at the breaches), Sir Henry has not had a line, and no person has arrived with intelligence from him. He did not

even know that the loss was supposed to be four thousand men on our side.

The French threw lately into Cadiz fifty shells, one of which cut off the legs of a Spanish colonel in his bed; but their fire only reaches a small proportion of the city, and the inhabitants with whom I conversed express no fears.

Their naval exertions seem more formidable. The coxswain of Captain Devonshire's boat informed me that their privateers had been very successful from Rota against the Americans, and that twenty-six large gun-boats were all ready in the Canal de Trocadero. He was an intelligent fellow; and it was his opinion that they would soon have a force which would seriously incommode, not only the supply of Cadiz, but the general line of defence.

21*st continued.*—Walked out along the Alameda to the lighthouse—a noble parade, of about a mile and a quarter in extent, washed by the sea on one side, and covered with various ramparts, forts, &c., on the salient points, and on the other side bordered by a range of superb edifices or lofty line of buildings; but on the greater part of the extent the houses are separated from the parade by a small street, over which the wall of the parade rises twenty feet. From the lighthouse, after looking at the arsenal where there was a good proportion of cannon, I turned into the streets which are generally very narrow for the advantage of shade, as is the custom in warm countries, and passed through the only square in the town: it is very small, but cheerful. Thence I went to breakfast with Sir H. Wellesley.

I found one of my friends from the "Grampus,"

who brought me a letter from England written by David Erskine, and which will accompany this. I also received a newspaper to the 8th.

Mr. Liston, &c., came ashore about ten o'clock.

After breakfast I went to see the Cortes, who assembled about eleven o'clock in a circular building, very neatly fitted up but unfavourable for the voice. It was originally a church. The picture of Ferdinand VII. formed the back of the throne. Underneath was one of the Polish lancers' colours, taken at Albuera, nailed to the wall: two sentinels supported.

About one hundred and forty members were present. An American priest first spoke, and delivered himself well. Several other persons followed, who all discoursed with great fluency, and a manner which was more natural than in our Parliament. The common method of using the fingers to express terms more forcibly here had a good effect, and the churchmen tossed their togas with all the grace of Roman orators. Quintilian must have been himself pleased with the use they made of these aids to eloquence.

A relative of the great and much injured Incas was shown me amongst the members; and I should have particularised him if he had not been pointed out to me, as his mien was that of one who felt conscious of some pretension to distinction, but yet by no means offensively arrogant.

From the Cortes I went up to the top of a high tower that commanded a magnificent view of the city, the Isla, the Bay, Rota, S. Lucar, S. Mary's, Matagorda, Puntales, &c., and of Medina Sidonia and the Sierra Ronda in the background. From this I

went to the unfinished marble church, which is erected on a plan of great magnificence; but I have seen much finer, and particularly the new church of Casan at S. Petersburg. The marble church there is inferior, because the enmity of Paul to Catherine marred her design.

Having completed a review of the city, I formed these reflections:—That Cadiz is calculated to be one of the first of the second order of cities in the world. That as a commercial, military, and war station, it would be of inestimable value to the French. That its preservation, whatever may be the expense, is consequently obligatory upon England, but that it can only be maintained with the good will of the inhabitants. That its defences towards the bay are very imperfect, the sea wall ruined in many places, and in all composed of a crumbling stone with a very weak foundation; so that a seventy-four would prostrate it wherever her shot reached after a few broadsides. That the shipping in the bay can be dislodged whenever the enemy will resolve to undertake the experiment; for the batteries of Catalina and Fort Napoleon near Matagorda more than command the anchorage. That a superior fleet could command a debarkation on both sides of the town; and that a garrison of eight thousand men in the city itself would be necessary under such circumstances, and never less than four thousand. That the blockade of Cadiz with the means possessed by the enemy is a great reproach to England and her allies. And that the expedition under La Pena and Graham was the worst that could possibly be conceived for the object of the enterprise. If it was not strong enough to fight the enemy anywhere and everywhere from Rota

to Chiclana, it was far too weak for the most hazardous march from Tarifa back to the Rio S. Petri. If it was equal to the relief of the siege by battle, every advantage that could be derived from our naval means, from a flat sandy shore, and from immediate operation, was sacrificed to give the enemy time, information, and strength by the comparative fatigues of our long and anxious march. I asked Sir Henry Wellesley why and wherefore the movement was made, as made; but his answers were very unsatisfactory, and tended to the confirmation of my opinion on the subject.

When I called on General Cooke, who commands here, he informed me that Charles* had gone to Badajos, in the hope of returning before my arrival. I approve his zeal, but lament his absence. I could learn very few particulars about poor Vere,† but no one entertained any idea of his dangerous state.

April 22nd, Cadiz; 11 at night.

Dined yesterday with Sir Henry Wellesley. After dinner mounted one of Doyle's horses and rode to Isla, where I remained the night. The distance was about eight miles, chiefly on very narrow ground, on which various works are constructed. The town of Isla greatly surprised me, as I found a city nearly as large as Cadiz, with a street almost as long as Oxford-road, but not quite so broad. The houses were generally not above two stories high, but very capacious, handsomely decorated, and the whole extremely clean. John Hutchinson came and drank tea with us. We

* Lieutenant, afterwards Captain Charles, aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Wilson.

† Vere Poulet, Lord Poulet's son, who was my aide-de-camp, and died at Gibraltar.—R. W.

had scarcely retired to rest when a heavy firing commenced, which at first kept me on the alerte, but it proved to be only the cannonade of the enemy on a boat or two endeavouring to steal down along shore.

At five in the morning I was on horseback with Doyle, and rode down to the most advanced sentries and works over the Lurgo bridges, on the river S. Petri, directly in front of the Isla town and distant about a mile. Indeed, I got within eighty-five yards of the enemy's post without discovering them, and was advancing to them, thinking that the group was a Spanish picquet, when my error was made known to me. As I was in my gala dress I expected a salute, but the officer and his party only jumped upon the parapet of a little flèche to satisfy their curiosity, and I indulged them by doing the same, that they might have a full view, and be put in such good humour as to allow of my retrograde movement in slow time, which they did. After a thorough inspection of this point I returned to the Isla and breakfasted; then Hutchinson lent me another horse, and went with me to the mouth of the Rio S. Petri, distant about five miles from the town of Isla, chiefly over a deep and then burning sand. Here I had an immediate and accurate view of the whole of the Barrosa ground, of the position proposed to be occupied by General La Pena, and the Vermeja route along the sea-shore; and after this examination I was satisfied that every opinion I had ever expressed on the subject was most correct.

Having examined all the batteries on the line from the town of Isla to the embouchure of the Rio S. Petri, and returned circuitously to look at the bat-

teries on the shore from Puntales to the Carracas, I went back to the Isla for another horse. I then mounted and proceeded to the Carracas, where I completed the examination of every post, battery, &c., from Cadiz to that point, and thence to the Castle of S. Petri.

The result of my observations I must defer, as I have not time to write more than the incidents which have occurred, without omitting some very necessary correspondence.

Before dinner I inspected one of Doyle's depôt battalions, and was greatly pleased with their appearance and the general good order which prevailed.

I dined with Doyle afterwards at the mess established by him for the officers of the corps and depôt, the first experiment of the kind ever made in the Spanish army: it has been most successful: above fifty sat down. An excellent dinner was served at 1*s.* 4*d.* per head, including a pint of Catalonian wine. After dinner several patriotic songs were sung with animating effect. I then reviewed the Portuguese Regiment, which is stationed in the Isla, afterwards mounted my horse and returned to Cadiz, where I found Lord Edward Bentinck, who had just come from Portugal on his return to Sicily. He brought the despatches containing the details of the capture of Badajos, and I learnt from him that the French were at Penamacor, Sabugal, &c., so that other suspicions of mine are likely to be realised. Lord Wellington on the 16th was only at Villa Velha—a dangerous position to be overtaken in. Amongst the wounded I see the name of George Carleton: I am truly sorry for him.

During my tour I met various of my old friends. Our meeting, I believe, afforded as great pleasure to them as to myself; but I was sorry to find that Don Carlos d'España was shut up in Ciudad Rodrigo with a short supply of provisions, as valour cannot resist famine, and his life is forfeit, if Buonaparte does not choose to let the law sleep, of which I have little hope if he gets such a victim within his power. There was a grand opera this evening, but I preferred the gratification of friends in England to my own at the instant.

I cannot write the word "*friends*" without noting my acknowledgments to Doyle, Hutchinson, Clive (Lord Powis's son), and various others. They really have shown me a bountiful kindness and a flattering attention that I never was presumptuous enough to expect or unreasonable enough to require.

23*rd*.—The wind having blown a strong Levanter, we did not sail, but go to-morrow out to sea certainly. The ladies of the city are now presenting some colours to a regiment, but, as it is attended by a long Church ceremony, I have not accompanied Sir Henry Wellesley. The streets are crowded with finely-made women passing to the festival, and I have not seen one who would not be a rival for Cinderella's slipper. I wish my fairer countrywomen would universally adopt the exterior neatness, even if Nature should not in all cases be as gracious in moulding the shape of the pedestal. Who knows whether this attention might not influence even Nature? "Ladies who love their lords" often stamp more improbable and less deservedly impressive fancies on the form of their progeny.

I shall write a military report of my opinions as to the defences of Cadiz on passage to Gibraltar; but to satisfy or rather to diminish, the curiosity of Edward,* I shall now briefly state that I consider Cadiz as exposed to great danger, since the resistance is confided to *works* and not to *troops*; the attack of thirty thousand French would secure the Isla and the isthmus, and probably cut off all the troops outside the gates of the city.

Few of the works would withstand an assault, and not one a bombardment, even when finished; but most are incomplete and many in ruin. The locale, however, is most favourable for defence, and, at the same time, for an offensive attitude. It ought to be the citadel of Spain and the cradle of victorious armies. It might be made so with less expense than is at present pointlessly sacrificed.

I wish that I could for a twelvemonth pursue my own plans here, and at the conclusion receive the reward of brilliant success or guilty presumption; for I hold any man a criminal who aspires to command for which he is unqualified.

Second Packet, April 25, Cadiz.

A strong Levanter has unremittingly blown; our detention has been unavoidable.

On the 23rd dined with Mr. Duff, English Consul, devoted Spaniard, and the "*Father of the City*," being ninety years of age, and having lived above forty in a public capacity in this place. His health was drunk, under this title, some weeks ago at a great festival,

* Sir R. Wilson's brother.

but the old gentleman declared that he had only pretensions to claim the "honour of being a common parent:" yet, with all his power of enjoying life, I trust it may never be my lot to live and "tell the twice-told tale." In the evening went to the theatre. It being S. George's Day, the salle was better lighted than usual and the company more brilliant. The play was "The Cid," badly acted; then succeeded the bolero dance; afterwards a little piece, which represented a girl feigning folly and then madness to get rid of a classical suitor and marry a coxcomb. Bolero dances followed, and afterwards a farce called "Mandelo," or "The Robber of Ceuta" (a famous character in Spanish galley annals), in which common-life incidents and story formed a mock heroic tragedy, and terminated, like Tom Thumb's catastrophe, in the death of everybody and the reappearance of their souls. A fight with knives was extremely interesting, as being the representation of a Spanish practice which still prevails; but it was too savage for a very refined audience. The Spanish ladies are, however, brought up in a Roman school, and some of Juvenal's satires might well apply to them; yet, although they press to *see*, they are not inclined to *act*, cruelty.

The bolero dances were delightful, and the whole house applauded with rapture. La Victoriana, Louisa Martinez, and La Valdez were the principal female performers; the first occasionally appeared in men's clothes—that is, in a pair of *whites* and a rich Castillian jacket—when she displayed a leg that would have excelled all the models of the Grecian artists, and *Hottentot honours* that no other European possesses.

The moment that the castanets were heard, as the

curtain was drawing up, the house became animated. The elegance of the dance, the graceful motions of the arms and wrists, the folds and inclinations of the body, the attitudes of the groups, the fascinating display of limbs in rich, voluptuous, yet most decent dresses—save and except the *white attachments* of Victoriana—the agility of the pretty feet, the precision of the step, and the rattling music of the time-keeping and expressive castanets, excited all the pleasure that eyes and ears are capable of receiving. Every dance was encored, and yet all thought there was not enough repetition.

The opera did not conclude on that night, as there was some wretched singing, until half-past eleven o'clock, when we all retired to our respective homes.

There had been present all the beauty that this city possesses, but the ambassador's box was too near the stage for me to see the countenances of those who were remarked to me as the most distinguished. The Duchess of Santa Cruz and La Tarafina appeared the most pre-eminent. The dresses of all were very simple.

The building was very commodiously fitted up and possessed an advantage for the proprietors that I never saw in any other, and which I presume might be adopted in the English theatres without offence to the O. P. tribunal. Outside the second tier of boxes was a balustraded gallery that overhung the pit without any inconvenience to it or the persons in the boxes, from the base of which this gallery projected. Instead of injuring the appearance of the house it gave a finish to it, as the gallery contained but one row of benches and the front of the box formed its back.

Next day, breakfasted and dined with Sir Henry Wellesley—a large party. After dinner some went to play—for gaming is prevalent here—and others, among whom I was, repaired to the theatre. The same performers, with very little variation and undiminished plaudits.

Yesterday, breakfasted with O'Meara, the Commissary-general, to whom I delivered two shawls, one for Jemima * and one for Lady Grey. Mrs. O'Meara is to carry them to England. There will probably be an additional parcel of twelve pairs of shoes for Jemima by the same conveyance. After breakfast rode out with Downie, who is just made Brigadier in the Spanish service for repeated acts of gallantry. I first knew him as Commissary in Spain; the character of my legion inspired his ambition, and he is most meritoriously pursuing his undertaking, but, to the disgrace of the British Government, they suffered him, although very limited in income, to find the clothing of his corps at his own expense; it has already cost above eight thousand pounds. Inspected again the sea-wall of the city, examined all the locale more particularly, went again to the Puntales Fort and the new works of the Cortadura, obtained much information, and confirmed previous opinions. Dined with the Portuguese Ambassador, the Chevalier de Souza: a grand entertainment in honour of the birthday of the Princess of the Brazils. All the principal persons in Cadiz present in gala costume. Sat next the Duke del Parque, my former governor in Castille, and General La Pena, whom I found a very sensible man. I had before satisfied myself that he had been a most

* Lady Wilson.

injured officer, and time will convince the world of it. Passed a most agreeable day. In the evening visited General O'Donnell, the Regent; was very well pleased with his conversation, and think him well informed and sensible, but shall be much surprised if he continues long a favourite with the English because he will maintain Spanish independence. Already there is an incipient discontent: the cause is the disinclination of the Governor to accept British mediation with the colonies, and if I were a Spaniard I would reject it also. There is a celebrated speech in 'Pizarro' which I hold to be applicable to the policy both of France and England, and indeed of all great Powers when meddling with the concerns of weaker States.

O'Donnell is lame with a serious wound in his foot, and, I fear, must lose his leg, as the ball cannot be extracted.

Went to the opera: no new incident; but saw less of the company, as the house was not so well lighted up.

This morning breakfasted with Sir Henry Wellesley. Wind still foul, and most heavy rain falling. Little more worth noting in this town than I have mentioned before. The longer the residence, however, the more the dearness of everything appears—partly owing to actual scarcity, partly to the English prodigality; and yet little distress is exteriorly visible: the women dress well; the theatre is full; the markets are all fully provided; there are few beggars; and thirteen newspapers are daily published. One custom in the Spanish papers is worthy of adoption in England. The Calle Ancha is the Bond-street of Cadiz: under that head all the news of the day is given when that news wants official confirmation, or when it is

more likely to be, and most generally is, "the shave of the morning."

With regard to the coming state of this town, I do not think it will be so comfortable as at present; and the Commissary-general assures me that if there should be war with America the soldier's ration will cost a dollar. At present, meat bad in quality and very lean costs only 15*d*. per pound.

Downie, who has just returned from the neighbourhood of Seville, informs me that the harvest in the interior of Spain will be this year very abundant; and the Commissary-general has information on which he relies, that if the enemy are not expelled from Andalusia before July they will be enabled to collect in their magazines a supply for two years, so that the situation of the enemy will be improved, while the condition of the inhabitants will be deteriorating. There was a chance of raising the siege of Cadiz and recovering Andalusia, but Marmont appears to have been "trop fort, trop sage," and "trop bien instruit" as to the application of his own means and the conduct of ours.

Midnight.—Wind changed. Sail at daylight to-morrow. Dined with Lord Fife. Walked on the Alameda: all Cadiz en promenade; but most of the women being dressed in black, the scene was not gay.

Went to a tertullia or evening-party; a few people only present. The whole society gamesters, as everywhere in Spain. Cards seem to be the only amusement of the haut-ton when not employed in coquetting. Broke up early to go to the opera. A new dance, called the "Zapatiero," or sole-of-the-foot dance, a species of hornpipe with castanets; not so good as the

bolèro, but very well calculated to display grace in the movement of the feet and arms. The farce was the representation of a mad-house. It was well acted; but the mimicry of such human infirmity was disgusting. I was invited to the Duchess of Equas', but felt tired, and came home. Amongst the intelligence which I acquired this day, it was stated to me by the ci-devant master of Lord Nelson's ship, now a captain of a man-of-war in the Spanish service, that the Admiral of the Port had within a few hours received three letters from the commanders of one hundred and thirty gunboats lying here, and which marine establishment altogether employs four thousand two hundred men, representing that officers and men had been without any pay for eight months; that they had seldom any provisions given them; and that the relief which they had hitherto obtained, *by begging with the sanction of their officers*, had failed; that discontent therefore now prevailed so strongly as to render the officers fearful of the desertion of the crews with the gunboats to the enemy, as those who had gone over before were regularly paid and fed by them.

On mentioning this subject to Cockburn, he told me that the British Government had granted the Spanish Government a third of the required loan, but that we had refused all further pecuniary assistance unless all our terms were accepted.

April 20th, off Barrosa.

Embarked yesterday at midday. Weighed anchor; but the violence of a south-west gale, the intricacy of the passage, the neighbourhood of two men-of-war,

and the fear of the French batteries, obliged us to let go again. Sailed this morning at four o'clock. The weather having moderated and the wind improved, we sailed out without a salute from the enemy. Before we went on board yesterday, letters were received from London to the 14th.

The disturbances did not surprise those with whom I conversed. Advices from Lisbon also reached Cadiz, to the 22nd. Mr. Stewart in his despatches stated that on the 9th Ciudad Rodrigo was not much pressed; but the captain of the packet reported that before he left Lisbon the account was current of its fall.

Off Gibraltar, 5 o'clock P.M.

We are now opening Gibraltar, after having seen Ceuta for some time, and having the African hills in full view. It is impossible to enjoy a finer sight than these Pillars of Hercules present: it must have been gazed upon with equal admiration by the greatest men that the world ever produced. We sailed within gun-shot of Tarifa. The account which I had received from Colonel Skerrett's aide-de-camp had induced me to entertain a good opinion of the place; and Colonel Gough, of the 87th, had confirmed it, by informing me that the wall was not only entire and faced with towers, but that it fell on the inside fifteen feet deeper than the outside; so that had the French reached the breach, they could not have descended without ladders; and being unconscious of this circumstance, they would probably have pressed on too eagerly to recede, and would have been received on spikes, bayonets, &c.

Tarifa appeared to me sufficiently strong to defy a *coup-de-main*, and a place that must indeed be regu-

larly besieged. Had Skerrett abandoned it he ought to have been hung, for the enemy had not a possible entrance—only eighteen pieces to batter with, and their trenches, as Colonel Gough assured me, conveyed through them a torrent of water from the violent rains, that flowed many hours after their departure. I should conceive that four thousand men could keep out, with the aid of our ships, sixteen thousand for a month. I will endeavour to get a plan of the place; if I fail I will make a sketch from my own drawing as we passed, which will show the nature of the site, and its most important advantage, an assured retreat for the garrison to a place of safety.

As I was looking over the side of the ship at Tarifa with my telescope, one of the stays fell upon it and knocked it out of my hand. The former one, which I bought of the same maker, was washed out of the cabin of the "Astræa" when we were ashore on the Anhalt rocks. This is a serious loss to me; but I hope money will provide me with a tolerable substitute at Gibraltar; if not, I must have one sent out to me by a king's messenger coming to Constantinople. Telegraphed for "Warspite," Captain Blackwood, Lady Dallas's brother. She is on the way to England.

April 30th, Gibraltar, 10 o'clock A.M.

We anchored in Gibraltar Bay about nine o'clock at night of the 28th. I did not go on shore till the next morning, when Sir Montague Burgoyne received me and a little midshipman, the son of Admiral Freemantle, whom we are carrying out to his father in Sicily, and who is one of the most gentlemanlike boys I ever knew.

After paying my respects to General Campbell, the Governor, who invited us to dine, and proffered lodgment if I wanted it (a great favour at Gibraltar), Sir M. Burgoyne mounted me and Freemantle on two capital horses, and went with us and his Brigade Major to Algesiras, a place which I wanted to see, as being more likely to become again a place of military interest than to remain as now a friendly station; and more particularly as I wished to ascertain whether the asylum of those gunboats which so long injured our trade and disgraced our arms could not have been forced.

After riding what is called twelve miles, and ferrying over two rivers, we reached Algesiras, where I satisfied my doubts, and found that Sir Sidney Smith's proposition to land a body of troops and take the town, and oblige the surrender of the vessels, was one which might have been adopted with an assurance of success.

In Algesiras we met three very beautiful women; one a particular friend of Lady Westmoreland; but the town, being made the depôt of Ballasteros's army, was in great disorder, and in the streets were lodged in huts numerous families who had been obliged or thought themselves obliged to abandon their own *foyers*. We returned with a considerable circuit, passing over some very fine country, by S. Roque and the remains of the Roman city of Corteja, which Commodore Penrose with two sailors is exploring, and with success, for he has found many valuable antiquities, and several are still on the ground.

This ride also enabled me to pass by the most interesting points that concern the attack and defence

of Gibraltar. I think the place much over-rated, and that it requires a very large garrison. If Spain is conquered and Buonaparte lives, there will probably be another experiment: the failure of the last is no security for the future. The bad direction of means certainly, by every account and by palpable proofs, greatly contributed to our first triumph. The enemy have acquired experience; it is a matter of dispute whether we have since been strengthening the works, although we have greatly added to them. An improvement now in progress is undoubtedly of great value: the water by the causeway is to be continued round the walls until it flows to the base of its perpendicular elevation. It will be a most laborious and expensive undertaking, but most essential, and one only wonders that this measure could have been so long deferred.

Dined with General Campbell, who appears to live very well. His two daughters are pretty: one was to have been Lady Malpas by public report. Both have very engaging manners, and seem highly accomplished.

April 30th, midnight.

Rose at dawn. After breakfast went to inspect the works and the galleries of this fortress. Much curious, all expensive, but a great part of no importance in the day of trial.

Gibraltar must trust not only to her batteries and subterraneous cavaliers, but also and chiefly to good and numerous battalions when the enemy can command the bay. Rode afterwards to S. Roque. Saw the first division of Ballasteros's army arrive. Never

beheld such a ragged crew—such a set of pitiable shadows; famine was in the cheeks of all. Romeo's apothecary had there a fellow in every man; but yet the wreck still preserved traces of an original capability.

Ballasteros was himself to arrive with the rest of his army this evening. He was obliged to retreat from Malaga, not only because the French had there five thousand men, but because Marshal Soult, with eight thousand men, had arrived at Ossuna to cut him off from Algesiras. If this General Ballasteros had about ten thousand of his men regularly arranged, and was authorised to consider Gibraltar as his base of operations, I think much might be done to harass the enemy in this quarter, and engage the attention of a threefold force; but at present every shilling expended on its maintenance is a loss without any compensation.

In S. Roque was a mad bull. Young Freemantle, Hamilton, and I were crowded in an extremely narrow street, of almost impracticable descent on horseback. The bull suddenly broke from the Spaniards, and charged down upon us. Hamilton's horse, which was much jaded, with difficulty was forced into movement, but young Freemantle gallantly applied whip and spur, which gave me liberty, and I descended in gallop; fortunately, bull tripped and fell head over heels, or with all our exertion I doubt if we could have kept ahead of him. From S. Roque rode to the Queen of Spain's Chair, a tower in which it is said Isabella swore to remain until the Moors were expelled from Gibraltar. The road was desperate, and, we are told here, considered impracticable for horses, but we

reached our object, descended again, and then rode to the new establishment on the east side of Gibraltar called S. Catalina, to which an excellent road is forming, but I much doubt the propriety of this work. Perhaps I see things in a light in which enemies may never regard them; but I always consider what is possible, as a probability that in war ought to be guarded against.

Dined with Sir M. Burgoyne, who fêted all my friends; indeed, I cannot express in suitable terms his extreme attention and friendship. He was always much liked by me, and the more so because of the regard felt for him on account of many kindnesses by our dear brother Major.*—*His* memory alone damped the pleasures I here enjoyed.

Third Packet,
May 2nd, Mediterranean, off Malaga.

Embarked yesterday in very heavy rain. Sailed immediately. In the evening the wind became fair, but accompanied with some squalls, torrents from the sky, and great cold. The season has indeed been through our whole course very extraordinary. For one day only have I been able to go without my pelisse on board ship. At present the thermometer is down to 59°.

At Gibraltar I had experienced all the gratification that kind friends could afford, but the greatest was the knowledge of such existing comity.

Passed close to Ceuta. I had before seen an accurate plan. It seems to be a very large city, and as a maritime station for the enemy it is extremely

* The Christian name of Sir R. Wilson's eldest brother, deceased.

advantageous, especially as the sea flows through the town, so that vessels get in and out on which side of the hill they please.

The works in front of this cut are very numerous and strong in construction, but present a face of only two hundred yards; whereas there are commanding hills within five hundred yards, which can pour a fire from a front of seven hundred.

The citadel is surrounded by a wall flanked at every fifty yards or thereabouts by circular towers; but it does not command a landing-place at its base, and batteries may be erected very near to the wall and almost without observation.

This report was shown me by Colonel Rutherford, but I approached sufficiently near to verify its accuracy. We had a garrison in the citadel of twelve hundred men, but that force is now reduced to four hundred, with a stipulation that they shall have no cannon. Congreve's rockets might, however, be surreptitiously introduced and operate with all desirable effect when necessary, if possession can justify such outrages to the British people.

I lamented that I had not seen Ballasteros. He has, according to various opinions of his mode of conducting operations, many eminent qualities for a commander; but I believe that he is destitute of all aid, that he is obliged to direct and execute every thing himself, and that his failures are very frequently owing to the impossibility of his being everywhere. His gasconades, to use the most moderate expression, are perhaps upon the whole useful for the morale in Spain, although they are detrimental in England —

since they sustain a system of illusion which must ultimately, if continued, prove fatal.

I do, however, greatly condemn his execution of all Spaniards found in the service of the enemy: it is not only a most cruel system under the circumstances in which Spain is placed, but most impolitic for the interest of the cause he is supporting. I could demonstrate this by several incontrovertible arguments.

Before I left Gibraltar I wrote to the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Grey, and Lord Hutchinson many sheets of paper, containing such matter as I thought would be interesting to them; and suggested some subjects for very early attention if they have power to regulate them in sufficient time.

The temper of mind in all classes abroad is very serious. The general measures of Government are uniformly disapproved; and the late arrangements or derangements of dress, the appointment of aides-de-camp from junior lists when no service or pre-eminent merit distinguished the favourites, the attempt to make M'Mahon paymaster of the widows' pensions, with a multiplicity of similar incidents, have totally estranged army and navy from the Prince Regent.

I sent to the Duke of Gloucester, and ultimately for Lord Grey, a most correct plan of Tarifa. I have left a letter instructing Charles to copy for me another plan which I shall transmit to England, and some more: it is for such services that I particularly lament the absence of Charles at the present moment, as he draws professionally in a superior manner.

Colonel ——— seems to have participated in the fortune of Marshal Beresford.

May 3rd, off Cape Finez.

Since yesterday we have been rolling on with great rapidity. During the night we ran eleven knots per hour under double reefed topsails. The sum total of our progress in the last twenty-four hours is two hundred and twenty-four miles. The sky has become serene and clear, the gale steady, but the ship very much otherwise, and the whole lower deck is afloat. A little Greek vessel of beautiful construction has kept us company from Gibraltar. The sight of her motion makes us bear the ill we suffer with more complacency, but I should wish to diminish our rate of going and maintain a fixed posture when seated, which cannot now be secured unless the chairs are lashed, and strongly lashed.

The son of Mr. Rose, who is roaming about for the cure of a diseased hip, has taken up his quarters in the gun-room; and as he is a frequent guest in the cabin we find an agreeable addition to our society.

Hitherto the ménage has been very well supported. Our captain is a good fellow, and does all in his power to keep restless landsmen in good humour. There is sometimes a little collision between the old and the modern schools on speculative subjects, but no interruption to cordiality.

Frere and Hamilton are of course my principal associates. The latter has extreme good nature, the former great good sense, science, originality of expression, with mildness of manner.

The weather yet has not permitted us to see much of Mrs. Liston except at meals, but she proves herself to merit the opinion I had formed of her strong understanding and kind disposition.

The officers of the ship are in general very fine young men.

Freemantle is only a passenger, but he is really an ornament to the navy: about twelve years of age, he possesses a gentlemanlike manner, a gracefulness, a nerve, a propriety of conduct, and an attention to the care of his person, without being a *petit maître*, which are rare qualities in such youth.

I wish —— could see him, and that he would make him his model. I do not wish my boys to be coxcombs, but I think the rule infallible with children that a slovenly person cannot be the depository of a generous mind; with them such neglect is the consequence of idleness and an insensibility to the maintenance of the station in which they were born. Instead of aspiring to pre-eminence they will grovel through life. Inattention to the graces is no merit even in philosophers, considering that they are still members of society; but then there is no danger from their example, for they will have few imitators in the *whole* scheme of their life. These observations apply still more forcibly to girls, who, if they are indifferent to habits of order and attention to their persons, will never feel that pride of decency and sense of the dignity of female character which are the best security against indiscretions, and most important outworks of principle.

4*th*.—On our log we score near two hundred miles; the sea has fallen; the sky still maintains its azure serenity; the air is cool and exhilaratingly elastic; the wind fair and sufficiently strong to drive us at the rate of seven knots. Yesterday evening we saw the high land about Algiers, and again heard Warren's story of the reception by the Dey of Lord Liverpool's

trinkets. "Does he know that I am a prince, a soldier, and a man?" are memorable words; they should be repeated at all the courts of Europe.

The little Greek still hovers near us, and is the most picturesque vessel I ever looked at, with a saucy air which the Trojan sea nymphs might be presumed to have retained after their metamorphosis.

May 6th, near Sardinia.

Less wind and fine weather, except during the night, when rain again fell. This morning the Malta packet hove in sight, but we shall not be able to communicate.

May 8th, off Sardinia.

On the 6th the wind died away altogether soon after we discovered the Island of Galita and the African coast in its neighbourhood.

Last night a direct foul wind blew, and we are now beating back upon Sardinia to avoid the fatal Esquirques Rocks on which the "Athénienne" was lost, and where so many vessels have been wrecked without a survivor to report their fate.

Until the actual loss of the "Athénienne," in the year 1806, these extensive shoals had never been laid down, and even the captain of the "Athénienne," at the instant previous to her striking, expressed his conviction that he had passed them if they existed.

This day month we left Portsmouth: it has not proved an uninteresting period.

May 9th, between the Esquirques and Sardinia.

Still beating, with fresh gale, occasionally seeing the African shore and the eastern extremity of Sardinia.

May 11th, off Maritimo.

We have been making very little progress. Squalls, with foul winds, and calms have baffled all our efforts to reach Palermo. Why we should thus be losing three weeks' precious time, which we shall do at the least by going to Sicily, is to me unaccountable. Had we proceeded direct to Constantinople, we should now according to all reasonable calculation be making the Dardanelles.

Yesterday we made Maritimo, the advanced island of Sicily, that is separated from it by little more than six miles, and assists in forming a break by the bay of Trapani. To this island the exiles are banished: if the treatment is not harsh the situation is far from disagreeable, and if sent there many would say:—

> "Our remedies do in ourselves lie;
> 'Tis not the king who banish'd me, but I the king."
> "And thus our life, exempt from public haunts,
> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

Our little sprightly companion quitted us yesterday, but soon afterwards fired a gun, which put an end to church service. Her fears were however groundless; the vessels that scared her proved to be a large convoy from Malta to England, and as one of the line-of-battle ships appeared to be under jury masts, we presumed that it was the "Rivoli." We had no communication, as the haze was great; our sails still flap idly in the wind.

May 12th, off Mount Eryx.

Baffling calms have continued, and it is doubtful whether we shall reach Palermo this day. We now

are under the mountain dedicated to Venus, and from which she takes one of her names. The island of Ustica is also in sight, on which the Carthaginians are said to have perfidiously abandoned six thousand auxiliaries after an unsuccessful expedition against Sicily, where they all perished by famine; but it must be remembered that this is a Roman anecdote.

Some etymologists find authority for the fact in the derivation of the word Ustica from *Ossa—bones!!!*

May 14th, Palermo.

After experiencing the most perplexing weather, which kept Captain Warren on deck all night, a fresh breeze sprang up and carried us to our anchorage in Palermo Bay, about one o'clock in the afternoon yesterday. In two hours we obtained release from quarantine, and proceeded to land. The scenery round the bay was a combination of the majestic and the picturesque. Very heavy clouds hung on the mountains behind the city, and increased the effect of the sublime; these clouds afterwards broke, and torrents of rain descended.

Lord William Bentinck had procured apartments for us at the Hotel, as his house was full and almost every other house was occupied, six thousand British being in garrison: among them were two squadrons of the 20th Light Dragoons.

After visiting Lord William, I went with some letters to the Marquess Circello, the ex-minister, who received me with great cordiality. His wife, though an old woman, was one of the most accomplished and agreeable ladies I could make acquaintance with, and one, as she expressed herself in speaking of another,

"who belonged to the Old Rock." Thence went to the Cathedral, a fine building, remarkable for its style of architecture, which appeared to be a combination of the Moorish, Saracen, and Gothic; then to the palace, which did not answer my expectation.

I shall not, however, pretend to give a description of this city, which has been accurately delineated by so many travellers, but I shall recommend the perusal of their accounts, and only generally observe that the streets are uniform, wide, and of great length; the squares capacious, the houses magnificent; but a certain melancholy air pervades the city, that would render it a very undesirable residence to me. Perhaps the circumstances of the time have occasioned an unusual gloom.

After satisfying my curiosity in the town, on the Marino which is a superb terrace above the water of the bay, and in a beautiful public garden at the extremity of the town (beautiful although laid out in Dutch taste), I returned to dress; and found Major Blake and my brother officers of the 20th, whom I was delighted to greet; for I really have not only a personal attachment to several, but a strong *esprit de corps.*

The dinner at Lord William's was sumptuous. As I sat next him I had good opportunity to converse on various interesting subjects, and I did not lose it; nor did he decline the conversation, as I had change to pass of British stamp.

It appears that the Queen, prior to her King's *delegation*, not *abdication*, of his authority, addressed the troops from the palace-window, and told them that "if they did not resist it would be the first time a

king had ever been dethroned without bloodshed;" that she, however, did not find the support she expected from the Sicilians in general, and therefore yielded; a measure which she now repents, especially as she finds her capital garrisoned by the English, and consequently the politics of her son controlled. It appears further that measures are now taking to reduce the Sicilian army gradually; that about two thousand foreigners have been discharged, the greater part of which we expect to recruit; that the remaining twelve thousand are, for the most part, Neapolitans, and three thousand of them Royal Guards, totally independent of British direction, and commanded by Colonel S. Clair, the Frenchman, the favourite of the Queen, who, however, Lord William declared to me, is, *in his opinion*, a very good man, and not under Buonaparte's influence; that all the exiled nobility are in office, and the Neapolitan party excluded.

That the Prince, who is a very weak young man, conforms to Lord William's wishes, but still fears his mother; that Lord William proceeds systematically, but meets with difficulties, and is under the check of the British Parliament; that the spirit of inquietude is not allayed; that faction distracts the Court; whilst want of money obliges the most discontented to accept British aid; that the distress of the inhabitants is still great, and has been excessive; that not a British soldier has been at disposal from this army, and that the Sicilian army is not subject to foreign service *under our orders*; that the Queen has been endeavouring to move all the foreign Courts in her favour. That the Emperor of Austria has offered her an asylum, and that she talks about going to Germany; but Lord William

does not think she will leave Sicily without compulsion; that the Parliament—composed of ecclesiastics, barons, and representatives of cities—will assemble next month; but, although the object of this session will be to diminish the power of the King, that no solid improvement can be anticipated until the feudal rights are abolished; and that this reform cannot be hoped for in a Senate where nobles compose more than nine-tenths of the assembly. That England must bear an additional burden for the maintenance of Sicily, and that no troops can, for this year at least, be removed from hence for any operations in the Peninsula.

This is the intelligence I was enabled to glean from Lord William, and it was confirmed to me by General MacFarlane, who is Lieutenant-General in the Sicilian army, and the second in command under Lord William. He added that the royal family collectively were afraid of our design to remove them from the country altogether, and that he and Lord William in vain endeavoured to allay their fears; that they—the Sicilians—hating the Neapolitans, were friendly to us; and that the Neapolitans hated the Sicilians and ourselves equally; that the command over the Guards was at last likely to be obtained, but that the *interior economy* of the Sicilian army *was so good*, that they proposed to make no alteration: and Lord William indeed told me that their system altogether was preferable to ours, and equal to any in Europe.

General MacFarlane then showed me one of their general returns, which was made out in a most perfect manner: but the fashion little concerned me, I was anxious to know the strength of the force and its composition.

The summary gave the number eleven thousand several hundred, of which two thousand only were Sicilians, seven thousand seven hundred and eleven Neapolitans, one thousand nine hundred and fifty foreigners.

From other quarters I also learnt that the Neapolitan soldiery hated us to a man: that the Germans would all join us, and the Sicilians not act against us. But after summing up impartially every account, I have come to the positive conclusion that we have embarked in an undertaking which will greatly increase our expenditure, render reinforcements necessary, and probably end in an avowed attempt to seize the island, and consequently in acts of violence. The last results are the consequences of our measures, but not a part of our original design; at least not with the privity of Lord William, who I am satisfied is an honourable man, and a most upright public officer.

Prescience, however, is not one of his characteristics, nor has he studied the march of usurpation in English policy; which in fact has as great a proneness to power, by the acquisition of all that the world possesses of value, as ever frenzied and ruined the Roman Empire.

I certainly would not suffer Buonaparte to occupy Sicily, but there was no intention on the part of the Queen to barter with him or any of his vassals. In the present state of affairs I would take care to secure the island from any act of her resentment, but I would not involve a great portion of the wealth and military strength of England in unnecessary engagements.

We may now find the Sicilians neutral, perhaps friendly, but he who counts on the perpetuity of

their love can see constancy where none ever existed. On their fears we may indeed speculate; but as Palermo is destitute of every kind of defence but the number of men in garrison, as fleets do occasionally put to sea unperceived, a Toulon squadron with ten or fifteen thousand troops on board might be considered by them as a predominating cause for apprehension.

"Nous verrons," is the "finis coronat opus" of my political theories.

After dinner went for a short time to the mess of the 20th, then to the conversazione, which is no other than a great gambling hall, or *hell* in classical terms, where all the grandees of both sexes assemble. I was greatly disappointed in seeing only very slovenly attired ladies, and not one with any pretension to beauty but the Princess Paterno, and she of doubtful claim in a déshabillé. As I dine with the Prince to-morrow I shall withhold my definitive judgment until I have seen her less unfavourably attired. I wish to be just, and therefore shall endeavour to forget that I trespassed with a premature reconnoissance.

This morning breakfasted with General MacFarlane, who is living in a fine palace with the pay of near 6000*l.* per annum, allowances included and exclusive of British pay. I wish MacFarlane had as much again for his own sake, but I think this tax upon a bankrupt state is not suitable to British character or British interests. After breakfast rode out to Monte Reale, and was gratified with the sight of one of the most splendid views in the world. The country from Palermo to this city, five miles, may be called the Golden Valley, and this rich luxuriance creeps up the sides of lofty mountains, as far as industry can ascend,

where Nature presents her gigantic thrones and cloud-capped altitudes for the homage of mankind. The view terminates with the city of Palermo and the waters of its bay.

In Monte Reale is an inimitable work of art—a cathedral seven hundred years old, as large as that of Gloucester, the roof and sides of which are all of gilded mosaic, verd antique, porphyry, and marble, with solid granite pillars in the aisles above thirty feet high. A fire destroyed the roof of the church some few years back, and damaged the walls, but still what remains is calculated to excite astonishment. I should say that the costliness and skilful workmanship of this building "beggar description," and not only so, but would now beggar a kingdom.

Various pieces of the mosaic, porphyry, verd antique, marble, &c., will be sent by me to England when opportunity offers. I was no Vandal; I came not under the censure of Lord Byron, but the fragments were already in private possession, and I only allowed myself to become a purchaser and not a dilapidator.

From thence I went to the Duke of Orleans, with whom I sat an hour, and found him as I had hitherto esteemed him a very sensible man, with great knowledge of the world.

Our conversation was confidential.

In the late transactions Lord William Bentinck told me that he had great reason to be satisfied with the Duke's prudent conduct: as he had been disappointed in the command of the army, and as his ambition is of the highest character, such a moderate policy as he pursued was not expected.

From him I rode to visit Orby Hunter and his wife,

whom I found in the suburbs with a fire just lighted, the blaze of which was most cheering, although I had not experienced any want of a fire from cold; rain had however been pouring the whole day, and damp with a black sky is in this country a winter season.

After riding all over the town and inspecting what yet remained to be examined,—and among other things was a Saracen gateway, with colossal warrior half-length figures as caryatidæ;—after riding through every street on a flat stone pavement, extremely slippery and filled with foot-passengers or idlers, hackney-coaches and carriages; after convincing myself that I had formed a just opinion of this city, I returned, wet through, to my lodgings. At seven o'clock went to dine with the 20th; at half-past nine I left them and guests sitting and went to the Opera, where there was some very good singing, but no ballet. The principal female performer was La Caldonada, a charming actress and pretty woman. The house is very small and ill-lighted, but well calculated for hearing, and the decorations of the stage were splendid. Very little company was in the house, and none of the Royal Family, who usually attend.

—— entered Lord William's box whilst I was sitting in it. I did not know his person, but I was very much struck with a peculiar strangeness of manner and a most remarkable expression of the eye. I thought him in good earnest a madman, and so did Hamilton.

I afterwards saw him with a fine woman, who, I understand, is the presumed cause of his conversion, though I am assured he still considers himself engaged to a lady to whom he had previously paid great attentions.

However this may be, his present friend is a most dangerous rival, for she is one of "the black-eyed maids of Heaven, angelically kind"—in the language of poesy—but in that of nature she is no more a maid, for she is the mother of several children, one of which I saw in her arms. Poor ——, however, is not even suspected of the paternity: his are the sins of the spirit only, as stated; but these spiritual attachments are more immortal and inalienable.

16*th*.—Yesterday rode to La Bagaria, ten miles from Palermo. Prince Paterno, the first man in Sicily, has here a country house, which is the object of all travellers' curiosity, and especially as a welcome is given to all visitors at a table maintained with equal luxury and hospitality. I was engaged, therefore the banquet was no inducement to my journey; but on arriving there, I saw his brother and regretted to find that the Prince had gone into Palermo to attend the Council, of which he is a member, although strongly in the Queen's interest.

I was much amused at seeing in his garden a representation of the Convent of La Trappe. The different figures of monks (in wax) were most ably executed. A dying Venus attended by two friars, which is a *groupe en cachet*, was not equally well done.

From Prince Paterno's we walked over to the house of Prince La Bagnara, which is remarkable for a vast collection of grotesque figures of men, women, devils, animals, &c., ranged on the top of a circular wall that encloses the courtyard of the house, and which wall forms the back of a range of small houses, like casemates, in which the out-door establishment resides. I was not gratified by the sight of nature so

outraged by art, and should not have noticed this proof of a silly fancy, if it had not been mentioned in all the publications as one of the lions of this district.

Lord Le Despenser's representation of the Kingdom of Pluto must have been far more interesting.

Returned to Palermo within forty minutes: borrowed horses are certainly the fleetest in the world.

The road also was as good as could be wished, and I understand that all roads within twenty and thirty miles of Palermo are in the same state; beyond this distance they become impracticable for carriages, but nowhere for the movement of troops.

The country that I had passed through was not naturally very pretty, nor was it well cultivated; but the background of the tract was formed by billowing mountains that presented a grand scena.

Mounted another horse, rode to La Favorita, the King's private shooting-box, about three miles from Palermo, inspected afterwards the port and that part of the suburbs, and at the appointed time presented myself on the parade of the 20th, where I was much pleased to find the men in an order that was creditable to themselves, their officers, and the army.

Formed column: expressed my approbation of their conduct, and my admiration of their appearance, gave five guineas amongst them, and then went to dress for Prince Paterno's fête, whither Lady William Bentinck conveyed me in her carriage. About forty people sat down to dinner at seven o'clock.

The entertainment was most sumptuous and yet very elegant. The profusion of silver forks, &c., was remarkable, and I do not think that on the whole I ever saw a more splendid banquet.

I had opportunity of course of executing my intention of judging whether the Princess Paterno had a right to the golden apple. The conclusion was most unfavourable to the claim. Her daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Giovanni, had far more pretensions, not by any regular traits of beauty, but by a certain mien and manner which were irresistibly pleasing; although the tout ensemble was a little saucy I confess, rather more so than a *certain person's* in England, but of whom I was strongly reminded.

The Venus at table was a Spanish woman, the wife of the Consul; a little figure, but with a head that nature only could form, defying the chisel to imitate or my pen to describe it so as to render justice to the original.

The dinner was very long; but I had no wish to shorten it, as I was in conversation chiefly with Prince Belmonte, the new minister and lately returned from exile and a prison. I was anxious to ascertain his pretension to the high character which he bears for talent. It is impossible to see him without being struck by his physiognomy, and his expression of intellectual vivacity, or to hear him without being charmed by the eloquence of his language. But I think him too fond of words to be in the highest sense of the term a statesman, too solicitous for personal brilliancy to be a very great man, and far too flippant on the whole for the conduct of affairs at this most interesting and critical epoch. Perhaps I am a little prejudiced by observing more of the vassal than of the independent man in his policy and personal bearing; not as a courtier *at the present moment* to his own Sovereign, but to the Sovereigns of the country.

He is no Washington or De Witt, or I am much mistaken indeed. How long he may be the idol of the British Government is very problematical. Principle must exist in a man's nature and form a component part of his system, or the motives to action will rapidly vary policy.

We remained at dinner till near ten o'clock, when we broke up, and ladies and gentlemen withdrew together. After coffee the whole party proceeded to Lady William's, who was "at home." The rooms were crowded with officers of the garrison, but very few additional ladies, and but two extra belles—the one a Madame Damiani, formerly Torpini, graced with great beauty of countenance à l'Asiatique, and a fine form; the other the Princess Santa Cataldo, —— ———'s spiritual chère amie, who is truly a very interesting person, and who is the most accomplished lady in this kingdom. I find that I erred in stating that she had *several* children; she is the mother but of one, and moreover is supposed to have all the virtues of a Cornelia. From what I could judge, I do not believe —— ——— ever proposed more than homage to her mind. I omitted to mention that the English female coterie consisted of Lady Montgomerie, and Mrs. Campbell the wife of the General—a pretty woman, who I presume is known to Jemima from her conversation and kind inquiries.

After the party, looked into the conversazione on return home: the same group had assembled as I had previously seen; but there was not so much gambling, as the bankers, from a run of ill-luck, had changed *rouge et noir* into the less popular game of *faro*.

17*th*.—Rode to breakfast with Colonel Blake, after-

wards proceeded to see the Palace of La Favorita and the grounds, of which on the preceding day I had but a cursory glance. This place is the favourite residence of the King, and here is his preserve of game. The territory runs along and under the Monte Pelegrino, is a perfect flat, and not more than three-quarters of a mile in width, and two miles in length. The roads cut through it are very broad, and kept in the order of garden-walks. The land is in high cultivation, and would rival the King of England's farm in neatness. As His Majesty never shoots in this preserve, only on its skirts, the pheasants, &c., which are here in vast numbers, are so tame as scarcely to move out of the way of passing horsemen.

The house is a perfect Chinese model. The very railing of the court-yard is capped by bells, which the wind keeps in a continual tinkling: there are three stories.

The lower floor contains the largest apartments, the principal of which is filled with the best of Morland's prints. The suite is fitted up with great taste, and excels the Carlton House Chinese imitations.

The second floor is chiefly inhabited by the King. In his dining-room is a round table immediately above the kitchen. Circular portions of this table by the touch of a spring descend, and thus the King is served with the hottest dishes, and the plates are changed without the presence of servants. This suite is entirely Chinese, and attracts universal admiration as a pure specimen.

The upper story is remarkable for a Turkish room, in which is a lamp of great elegance. The principal bowl is of marble, with golden characters upon it:

from this, small cups branch out after the model of epergnes in England, and instead of glass drops, strings of pearls descend,—I presume artificial; but the effect is very admirable, and I think the fashion might be introduced in England with advantage for the decoration of our chandeliers or lamps.

There is another apartment called the Herculanean, on the walls of which are paintings admitted to be of extraordinary merit, and certainly of captivating description, being figures of beautiful women, Hebes, &c. &c.

The colouring, design, &c., seem to me equal, if not superior, to any similar works that I have observed in any part of Europe.

Upon the whole La Favorita is the most elegant bijou that has ever come under my observation, and at the same time the most comfortable. I could not leave it without coming to two fixed conclusions:—1st, That the proprietor must be a gentleman, and what is called in England a "good fellow;" and 2nd, That he must be an admirer of the English character in common life. In fact, that the opinion of Lord Collingwood was correct, who represented Ferdinand as a person who, if he had been born in England, would certainly have been chosen for a county member.

From La Favorita crossed over, about a mile, to Lord Montgomerie's; afterwards returned to town, changed horses, and went to the Marquess Circello's, with whom I had a very long serious talk on *all* matters, and who read me an invitation from the King, written in his own hand, for me to visit him in the country, if I could make it convenient.

I gave no answer at the moment, as I wished to consult Lord William Bentinck on the propriety of my going. As he acquiesced in it, and indeed encouraged my doing so, I propose setting out to-morrow morning.

The Marquess Circello conceived that I had come to decline dining with him, as Prince Belmonte had invited me the same day; but he was pleased to find that I had not accepted the Prince's later invitation.

Prince Belmonte at Prince Paterno's dinner came up and asked me to his house on Sunday. I told him I regretted *that* day had been named, as I was engaged. As he seemed desirous to know where (perhaps surprised at my not surrendering every other engagement), I told him that I was invited to the Marquess Circello's. He repeated the name, which I affirmed. He did not seem pleased; but I could not *trim* so contrary to my notions of an Englishman's independence, that he might be gratified at the expense of my friend and my own character. Liston, who had been subsequently invited to Circello's, accepted Belmonte's invitation. He may be right, but I am sure I was not wrong.

In a political view, I should have been most unwise to offend Circello, who is the great friend of the Duke of Serra Capreola, my chief instrument at S. Petersburg; but I do not propose to express any opinion, by my bearing here, of what is passing in Sicily. I shall go to Prince Belmonte's in the evening, and this arrangement has been agreeable to Lord William.

Dined with Orby Hunter. Frederick Lambe was of the party. From him I collected several very interesting anecdotes.

The following will prove the effect that our Sicilian policy has already had on our allies:—The King of Sardinia was told a fortnight since that "as His Majesty had frequently requested British troops in Sardinia, Lord William Bentinck would now send a few." Upon which the King exclaimed, "Oh, no! not for the world! I don't want a soldier: I am under no apprehension from any foreign or interior enemy. Not a man—not a man will I have in Sardinia from England!"

We then proposed to make a road at our own expense to a great forest of oak, which is useless from want of such communication to the coast, but which then would be very valuable to the Sardinian Crown. "No roads—no roads; I would rather go without bread." I learn, however, that the "sic volo, sic jubeo," is not very far distant. We are, in fact, resolved upon the possession of all the islands in the world, and we are preparing a crusade, with the British code of laws on the points of our bayonets. "Nous verrons la suite" of this system; but I have no hesitation in declaring that, according to my belief, it will end as the interference of the house of Bourbon with the affairs of America did. The King's ministers are creating a revolutionary army.

With regard to general policy, history certifies to us that the spirit of conquest is the source of the decadence of empires.

What are limbs when the body no longer supplies the vital principle? Morbid excrescences that rot and destroy the whole frame.

Went to the opera. "The Horatii and Curiatii" was again acted. La Caldonada was irresistibly

interesting. She certainly is one of the most powerful actresses I ever heard or saw—all grace, all nature, all soul. The house burst into rapturous applause at the conclusion, and forced her on the stage after the curtain was dropped to receive their peals of acclamation.

> "Her's is the moving music of the heart,
> Not the vain trill that tickles idle ears."

I have just returned from breakfasting with General MacFarlane. He gave me his opinion of Sicilian affairs: but he is very wisely keeping clear of all the various intrigues, and only considers himself an executive officer, although he is supposed at Court to have been a promoter of the present system.

The sum of new matters that I collected from him was this: that the Hereditary Prince, alarmed at the encroachments of the English, attempted to oppose Lord William and act independently; that Lord William had unequivocally told him that such a line of conduct would be fatal to his power; that he must regard the English as his friends, and not for a moment forget that "all his *authority depended upon them.*"

That he believed Lord William was determined upon the most vigorous action in pursuance of his plans; that he had, prior to the Queen's concession, sent for him, General MacFarlane, and told him that "the time was now come to acquaint him that he intended to bring ten thousand men to Palermo, and force his measures by superiority of arms;" that he had sent a letter by his aide-de-camp to the Queen very lately, "desiring her to quit the country, as a measure indispensably necessary for the repose and

tranquillity of Sicily;" that the Queen, having read it, "thanked the aide-de-camp for the letter he had just brought, and then communicated the contents to every one;" that she had since agreed to go to Germany, but that her actual departure was very problematical unless force was used.

That Lord William had endeavoured to gain the King's confessor, and had indeed succeeded, when a friend of the confessor being charged by Lord William with a letter for him, carried it to the Queen, who, having this proof of the priest's treason, banished him to Ustica, and proclaimed the "arms which the British Minister so honourably employed."

That Belmonte certainly wishes to be the chief of a Sicilian government under the protection of England; and that the Royal Family would have good reason to be alarmed at his being the head of the Administration, if the English did not propose to curb revolutionary inclinations.

May 17th, 10 o'clock P.M.

"Rode to Prince Belmonte's to obtain an order for the King's relays of horses. The Prince, after showing me his new mansion, which is a noble edifice and in the very best situation, carried me to the Hereditary Prince, who came out from dinner to receive me, and after expressing in very flattering terms his satisfaction at seeing me, ordered me the relays, and requested me to call on him after my return, that he might "become better acquainted."

Previously I had seen Lady William Bentinck, and had a long conversation with her on the state of affairs. She confirmed the Queen's interception of the letter, and added that Lord William had obliged

the Hereditary Prince to send the monk who betrayed his correspondence into confinement, and that he was now in exile in the Island of Tavignoni; that a man had also been arrested within five days, who was charged with endeavouring to excite the inhabitants of Palermo to revolt, and that the Queen was suspected of having employed him. So far is traced, that her Majesty sent the wife a sum of money after the husband was in prison; that the Queen talks now of returning to Palermo, but that this is not likely to be suffered by Lord William.

Dined with Circello: a family party. The private talk was a repetition of grievances, with the expression of a hope that the Prince would be influenced by a letter which the Hereditary Prince wrote to the Prince Regent, complaining of the treatment of his father and the persecution of his mother.

Went to Prince Belmonte's in the evening. Met a large party, male and female. Passed afterwards to the opera. The Royal family, consisting of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, Mademoiselle his sister, the Hereditary Prince and Princess, and a daughter of the Queen's present. The Duke's sister rather handsome. Caldonada again electrified the house; but no applause being permitted in the Royal presence the restriction was quite a pain.

May 18th, 9 o'clock.

Rose three hours after lying down, and got into the carriage, drawn by six of the Queen's horses, Allen* being in the coachman's seat. Tore away for three miles, when we ascended a steep mountain; found a

* Sir Robert Wilson's orderly.

relay half-way up; proceeded to a second stage, which is an original Greek colony, where all the customs, &c., are still Greek, and also the religion. Thence, rather in an open country and more level, we ran eight miles further, when horses were again changed. At the end of thirty-five miles altogether we reached Figuza, a residence of the King, which is situated on table land.

Fourth Packet, Argo, May 19th, off Palermo.

Everything was on board, when wind became unfavourable. As my letters were already sent, I could not continue my Journal, but went to a ball at Lady William Bentinck's, and danced with her a single dance; with Lady Montgomerie about three couples, and a single dance with the Princess Santa Cataldo. These performances kept me up till late. The ball was very well attended; the women well dressed and good dancers; but the floor, being of Dutch china, was most severely ill-adapted for any elastic aid. This morning went to the Marquess Circello to talk to him whilst in bed on what passed yesterday, and to return some papers belonging to the Queen.

Few men can afford to be seen with their nightcaps on, à l'improviste; but the Marquess looked so neat, and all about him was so proper, that, although near seventy years of age, he might be deemed by many a lady far from a disagreeable bed-fellow. Took leave of Lord William: sent by him a message to the Hereditary Prince that I could not have the honour of waiting on him this day as had been arranged. Went on board the "Argo" in the Admiral's barge, taking

with me young Freemantle, who is consigned to my care as far as Constantinople. I had received great attentions at Palermo: I had found many friends, and I had passed my time altogether in a most satisfactory manner, so that I quitted the city with an interest in its society and fortunes.

I think my Journal was interrupted as I had noticed my arrival at the residence of the King, after a very rapid journey.

The Queen came into the room in which I was placed almost immediately. She declared herself "very sensible of the attention which I had shown the King and herself by my visit to them in their exile." She then proceeded to hint at her misfortunes; observed my cross of Maria Theresa; alluded to her connection with that sovereign, so illustrious even in adversity, and burst into tears. This scene being concluded by mutual discourse, the King was announced, and I saw a tall person, above six feet high, with a very prepossessing kind and open countenance, advance, by whom I was received with most flattering cordiality.

After some general remarks, the King said he would show me his house, which had been erected by himself altogether; and taking my arm in his own, proceeded through every apartment. The greater number were decorated with English prints, and fitted up in the style of an English gentleman's mansion. The building was of considerable extent, but not lofty; the rooms comfortable, but not spacious. In front of each side of the house were ranges of stabling, chiefly for the purpose of sheltering the horses that come to

a fair annually held here. The position of the house was most judiciously chosen, and the territory in view magnificently suited to its object—"un maison de chasse."

Behind, the ground rose for a mile, when a line of rocks, or mountain cliff, terminated the scene and all further progress. This range of rocks extended on each flank of the house for about three thousand yards. Immediately in front of the right of the house commenced a forest of richly foliaged trees, in which wild boars and wolves roamed in multitudes. The country in front of the house and on its left was open and covered with fine grass; and, although hillocky, it may be called galloping ground. Scotland may produce a similar assemblage of "pays sauvage," but I doubt the combination there of an equally rich pasturage.

In going round I had frequent opportunity of observing the kind manner in which the King greeted the lowest peasants, and their affection. The bonhommie of his nature exceeds, indeed, whatever it has yet fallen to my lot to observe in royal or noble, gentle or simple.

The conversation for a short time turned upon the late measures adopted by the British Government. I assured him that the King of England had always expressed the strongest interest in his welfare; that this sentiment was inherited by the Prince; and that the British Government and Lord William could only propose the security of Sicily and its prosperity for the advantage of his Majesty. He answered that these sentiments might have inspired the King and his Council, but that he little expected that the son of his

oldest ally, a sovereign who had reigned with him fifty-two years—and one year less than himself, who was now the most ancient monarch in Europe—would dethrone him at sixty-three years of age; in a manner, too, the most outrageous and revolting to every feeling. "Les démarches ont été rudes—très rudes;" but I bow to adversity, without murmuring against the dispositions of Providence. I am prepared even for the worst."

After a long walk the King brought me to the Queen again, and I remained until near twelve o'clock, when we went to dine. The King placed me between himself and the Queen, and Prince Leopold sat on the Queen's left. There were at table Monsieur, an old man, and the celebrated Colonel or Marquess Sinclair, who proved to be a Neapolitan acquaintance, and a person whom I very much liked.

The dinner was very plain, but well cooked; and we were waited upon by chasseurs, who were veterans that had distinguished themselves. Their look, dress, &c., reminded me strongly of the Russians.

After an hour we rose. The King spoke a short time, begged of Prince Leopold to show me his house situated on the skirts of the forest, bade me a most affectionate farewell, and retired to take his nap, which is the usual practice of the inhabitants of the country. As we were withdrawing, one of the chasseurs, whom he had noticed to me at dinner as wearing a medal for gallant conduct in the celebrated affair of the Neapolitan cavalry when protecting the rear of the Austrian army, ran up and kissed his hand; it was done and received in a very interesting manner.

The Queen then took me into her Bureau des

affaires, when she told me she had the King's authority to show me every document which had passed on the subject of the late transactions. These I read attentively. They were too voluminous to trace; but the principal were letters sent from Lord William Bentinck and herself. The former containing strong charges against her fidelity to the common cause: the latter demanding the proofs and denying the possibility of producing the slightest evidence of any communication with Buonaparte, but accusing Lord William of going into jails, &c., to take evidence from miserable wretches—either actual malefactors or suspicious persons—inducing them to speak as he wished for his plans, and acting without substantiating any fact.

There was Lord William's intercepted letter to the King through the confessor; a letter to him on the subject through a third person; several from the King, in one of which he desires the Hereditary Prince to let him have no more "des impertinences de Bentinck." Several from the Hereditary Prince, expressive of his distress and alarm at the measures proposed by Lord William; one stating that Lord William had declared to him that he would resist by force of arms the King's resumption of the administration; and the protocol of another conference in which Lord William told him that he would remove the Hereditary Prince, and set up his child, an infant, with a Sicilian Regency, if he did not concur in every plan of the British Government by whose orders he was acting:* the whole forming a mass of records of the most extraordinary proceedings that ever occurred in British

* The paragraphs of this protocol were sent *verbatim* to Lord Grey.

Foreign relations with any European power, and a collection of doctrines the most arbitrary, and at the same time more republican than Paine dared to have written.

There were most important truths and axioms as to the duties of sovereigns and the rights of men; but not one which would not tell with equal force in favour of the foreign invader of England and the rebellion of English subjects.

The Queen, after I had read the papers, proceeded through a long narrative and argumentative discussion, in which she displayed much ability and energy of character. She admitted that great abuses had existed and did exist in Sicily. She would gladly see them reformed, and especially those in the administration of penal justice; that England had a right to advise as a friend, but not to act as a mistress without the declaration of war and the subsequent triumph of her power.

She said that she hoped every thing from the integrity of the English nation, and something from the admitted goodness of the Prince's heart; that she was resolved not to leave Sicily or her husband; that death did not intimidate her; that she had better die quietly than see a revolutionary committee established in her country under the name of a Parliament, who would pursue the same career which brought the Queen of France's husband and children, and finally herself to the scaffold; that the Parliament being declared to represent the nation by an edict of the British Government would not be controlled, and that the interference of Lord William would be too late when the direction of the State was in their hands;

that the very first question proposed to the Parliament, and which had been reduced to writing, was "whether a Vicar-general could not be declared a permanent authority to supersede the authority of the King!"

She added, that if the English wanted Sicily they should recover Naples for her husband, and Sicily should be theirs in exchange, and *in perpetuo*; that it would have been less injurious to have proposed the sale of the pretensions of the House of Bourbon to the Crown of Sicily; that every act of Lord William's was not only a violence against the rights of independent Sovereigns, but against the common decencies observed in the rudest States. Much more passed that I cannot recapitulate. I endeavoured to pacify, or held my tongue when I could not conscientiously defend.

Lord William is no doubt acting under orders; but what right has England to the authority that she is assuming? Is there any one act of Buonaparte's more characterized by an usurping principle, an insidious policy, and indecorous indifference to the feelings and prejudices of hereditary Governments? The grievances of the Sicilians might be great, their sufferings intolerable, but we ought, upon a general principle, to support neither one nor the other party; we are acting neither as moderators, nor even as arbitrators, but as executioners of the Sovereignty.

If I was a Sicilian I might have the aversion to the House of Bourbon that Prince Belmonte has, but as an Englishman I should say—

> "Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not,
> Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?
> By their right arms the conquest must be wrought.
> Will Gaul or Muscovite redress ye?—No!

True, they may lay your proud despoilers low;
But not for you will Freedom's altars flame.
Shades of the Helots! triumph o'er the foe.
Greece, change thy Lords, thy state is still the same;
Thy glorious day is o'er, but not thy deeds of shame."

These feelings always make me averse to the Irish leaders who agreed to accept French aid: I would rather see abuses in England multiplied than owe our relief to any foreign co-operation.

But to resume my narrative. The Queen having travelled over the whole subject, begged of me to carry with me to Palermo some more papers, and especially the protocol of the conference with the Hereditary Prince, that I might read it over again. Having summed up the whole with great perspicuity, and adverted to the future without committing herself or me by any indiscreet menaces, she listened patiently to my observations; and I think that I impressed her with the opinion I entertained, and with what appeared to be the most judicious line of policy. "Moderation; forbearance from any act which might commit the King and herself to the people of England by making them hostile from resentment of a supposed injury; the gain of time, to obtain an answer from England to the representations made by the Hereditary Prince of the wrongs done to his father and the persecution of his mother, to ascertain the result of a confidential agent's mission to the Prince Regent, and to await the chances of some change in the British Government."

The Queen only apprehended that the Parliament would assemble before the advices could arrive; and that matters should have proceeded too far for arrangement, and for the correction of abuses under the regu-

lation of the Crown, with a general amnesty—which I said would be expected by the British nation, and to which she solemnly pledged herself as a grace which she admitted we had a right to demand, which, moreover, it was our duty to obtain, "since our sanction and protection had tended 'de faire monter les têtes.'"

I now took leave of her, with the satisfaction of having maintained a very embarrassing conference *sans aucun embarras*, or trespass upon my duty, and she expressed herself as more pleased by the candour and freedom of my opinions than if she had met with a general concurrence and servile acquiescence.

I certainly had been much flattered by the attentions I received and the good opinion that I saw she entertained, for there was too good taste in the King and Queen to allow them to pay personal compliments, and too much consideration for me to allow them to offer such lures to my understanding; but I had been too much habituated to the company of sovereigns and the honours of a palace to suffer vanity to influence me, and I have acquired sufficient experience to know that honesty is the best policy, not only for the quiet of a man's own conscience, but also for his possession of the respect of others. On my quitting the chamber the Queen took a public leave, and then I mounted my horse in company with Prince Leopold and the Marquess Sinclair.

When mounted the Prince told me that the Queen was above at the window, and on my bowing she kissed her hand several times.

We proceeded to the Hara and inspected the whole establishment. I think there were six fine stallions and about three hundred and fifty mares; at the instant

of our passing one mare, she foaled, which amongst the Romans was deemed an auspicious omen.

The Prince, whom I found a very good-natured young man, extremely ambitious of military service, to which the Queen in the most ardent manner encourages him with language that would make a Thersites a hero, accompanied me to the carriage, which had gone upon the road to an appointed distance. Here we parted.

I found that Allen had been treated rather as my aide-de-camp than vidame, and that he was much gratified by his journey to Figuza. He experienced the substantial benefit, but the compliment was mine.

We ran on at the rate of ten miles an hour: at La Græcia the whole village was out, and presented a number of wild-dressed peasants, all with white night-caps on their heads instead of hats. The women were not in Græcian costume, but were very neatly clad.

We also saw a race of horses without riders. In lieu of them a bladder was tied upon the back, with little goads, which, jumping up and falling down as the horses galloped, urged them on. The sides of the course were lined with people so that the horses could not break out.

The road made over the mountain is truly a noble work, the half of it being built up to give sufficient breadth. It is not excelled by the celebrated road from Marseilles to Toulon.

In three hours and a half reached Palermo. Immediately began to write letters to England, but was interrupted by the arrival of the officer to tell me "the wind was fair." Mr. Liston and his wife were embarked, but as I was waiting for Captain

Warren's return from Lord Montgomerie's, where I had also been invited, the wind died away, and on Captain Warren's arrival he determined not to go on board till the morning.

At Lord William Bentinck's I had a long conversation with Lord William, in which I endeavoured to make him feel that the actual dethronement of the King, and probably of his family, was a measure which the British Sovereign and people would never sanction as their measure; that it was one which would be fatal to our honour and exclude us from every country in Europe as auxiliaries; that it was a policy more agreeable to the French interests than to our own.

Lady William, who is a great feature in these transactions, being *Lady Patroness of Prince Belmonte* and a Sicilian revolution, conversed a good deal afterwards on the subject with me, when I endeavoured to impress her with the same sentiments, and with the opinion that we should find a Sicilian commonwealth far less tractable than the existing monarchy: that we were authorizing all the future interferences of Buonaparte with foreign states, and justifying those that were past: that Lord William's orders were revolutionary counsels for Ireland and England, and that the army in Sicily was in systematic preparation for the same results that followed the return of the French auxiliaries from America.

She pronounced me an "aristocrat," and would not discriminate between the rights and duties of an Englishman in his own country and in that of an ally into which he was introduced under an engagement of service to the Crown, not as an auxiliary to the discontented.

She thought that England ought to give liberty to every country she could reach. I asked her whether she had proposed an expedition to Tunis, Algiers, the Morea, &c. In fact I did not make any progress in weakening her support of the system adopted, but I am mistaken if I have not afforded matter for serious reflection and dispelled the dream of universal approbation.

"I could say something more but I will not."

20*th*.—Light winds. I forgot to note that my establishment is increased by a corporal and four men of the 20th, as I found the Duke's order at Palermo for them. They are very fine fellows, and two of them went out to the Cape under my command.

May 21st, off Maritimo.

We are beating against a foul wind, but the weather is very fine.

Amongst the anecdotes of Figuza, I omitted the sight of above eleven hundred boars' tusks, chiefly slain by the King. There is a regular register kept of each day's performance. I recommend Wallis,* if he ever touches at Palermo, to present himself, and he will for ever after have a tale of wonder to tell to the Norfolk squires.

May 22nd, off Pantellaria.

Foul wind; fine weather. Passed yesterday evening close to Marsala, whence the wine of that name comes; a large town, with two forts; much flat country about it, which is covered with houses. Eryx overlooks this plain, and must have a rich view. On a hill to the south-east we saw another large town. This morning beat up close to Pantellaria.

* General Bayly Wallis, brother-in-law of Sir Robert Wilson.

23*rd.*—Gozo: the ancient Isle of Calypso in sight, and saw the country about Girgenti, the once renowned city of Agrigentum, which contained two hundred thousand inhabitants, and which rivalled in magnificence and luxury whatever has been recorded to the honour or reproach of other cities.

The escape of its garrison is, however, the incident which interests me most in its story. The sally from Almeida is, perhaps, more remarkable, but the preceding incidents, considering the contending numbers and the characters of the chiefs, are not equally interesting. The story is well told in Polybius.

23*rd.*—Packet this moment sailing as we are entering.

God bless all!

May 26th, Malta.

On Saturday, the 23rd, we made Malta. As we were entering the harbour we saw a packet under weigh. I had prepared some letters upon the possibility of such a contingency, from the recollection of a previous similar incident. It, however, so happened that the packet got entangled amongst some rocks, and the next morning the "Leviathan," which was returning from seventy weeks' cruise, during which the Captain had only for two days set foot on the earth, and that upon one of its rocks, carried away the packet's bowsprit, so that she still remains in harbour.

General Oakes received me in his palace, where we found Lord and Lady Mahon on their way to Catania in Sicily.

As I have already given an account of Malta,* I shall not repeat recorded opinions. Little has been

* In a previous Journal, during employment some years earlier.—ED.

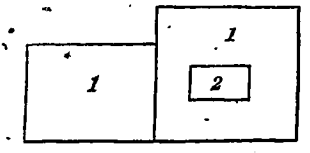
done to produce any perceptible change. The houses, perhaps, are somewhat increased in number, but no great feature has been added. Malta, as an object of curiosity, has unparalleled interest; but I should be sorry to be a resident. The sun glares with too intense fire, the country is too desolate, and the life is too monotonous.

Sunday we passed quietly, and walked in the garden, which, when I was here last, Sir Alexander Ball was forming. *Un triste souvenir*, which, accompanied with others, made me agree with Lord Byron's answer to his own proposition.

> "What is the worst of ills that wait on age?
> What stamps the wrinkle deepest on the brow?
> To see each lov'd one blotted from life's page."
> &c. &c. &c.

On Monday I resolved to visit Annibal's tomb. I in vain endeavoured to acquire information on the subject in Valetta, until an old book was produced which afforded a clue to the neighbourhood of its site. We passed over "*impassable*" rocks, and, after great difficulties, succeeded in finding an old man, who undertook to show us what, he had heard, attracted many years ago the attention of some travellers, and the remains of a building which the tradition of the Island reported to have been the monument of a very great ancient warrior. He first showed us some ornamented entablatures of a temple, and then carried us to the mound, or sepulchre, where we found the distinct foundations and compartments of two chambers, with two faces of one of the angles nearly entire. The building was evidently of a pyramidal form, constructed with large blocks; and in one of the cham-

bers was lying a great hewn stone, like the top of a sarcophagus, which we endeavoured in vain to lift, but which I think it would be well worth while to raise. The stones of which this tomb was formed differed materially from those of which the more modern walls in the environs were constructed.



1. Ground Plan. 2. Large hewn Stone.

Form of the two faces yet nearly entire.

The tablet with the Phœnician inscription, which Sir William Drummond has translated, was sent to Paris; but whether this is the actual tomb of Annibal, the most illustrious of great captains, or not, it is undoubtedly an ancient sepulchre; and the possibility of its having been what it is now presumed by Sir William Drummond to have been, produced a train of thought that amply indemnified me for a very severe ride of twenty-two miles; of which half-a-dozen were trials for the nerves, for the rocks were as slippery as glass.

In the evening rode again with General Oakes to see S. Antonio, his country residence, distant about seven miles. The ladies went in carriages. The place, particularly the gardens, was very much improved since my last visit, and the farm was in admirable order, with such luxuriance that pomegranates were blooming in the poultry-yards.

Yesterday, at five o'clock, rode to inspect the Sicilian regiment at the request of General Fergusson, made before I left London. I was very much pleased with the composition, appearance, and arrangement, of

this corps. Perhaps there is too refined order; but as this regularity is in combination with objects of more importance and labours of useful character, I should not quarrel with its luxury.

I was pleased to find the punishments very few. I have earnestly recommended General Fergusson to attend to the promotion of his officers, and the introduction of a proper description, as there has lately been a very objectionable recommendation from a Royal quarter. I have also advised the employment of the corps in foreign service, to consolidate a most excellent outline. Breakfasted with Colonel Rivarola, the commanding officer; met an Arab chief whom I remembered at Alexandria, and who, after the massacre of the Mamelukes, fled here and obtained an asylum and a pension. He told me that I should find an old friend in the present Capitan Pacha, as he was Kiaya Bey to Hussein. I shall be very glad of this circumstance, as it may greatly facilitate my objects. Embarked at eleven o'clock last night, with the expectation of sailing at three this morning; but the wind blew so violently into the Harbour, and such a swell rolled, that we could not make the attempt; I therefore re-landed for the day. On my way to the shore I called on General Montresor, and his wife Lady Sondes, who are on board a transport waiting for a wind to Messina. She seems a most agreeable and accomplished woman, but is very much affected by the disagreeableness of the ship. Her son, Lord Sondes, is on his travels, and will probably be at Constantinople when we arrive.

We have, indeed, seen here very pleasant compatriots of both sexes. Our host, General Oakes, is

a delightful person. His company are all pleasing in their respective ways, and our séjour here has been a continued jour de fête.

Poor Wynne, our late Minister at Dresden, who was so long of our party at Memel and who is now here on his return from Egypt, has not been able to join the Society. For twenty-eight days he was confined to the Lazaretto, under quarantine, and a little before his time expired fever appeared, with an inflammation in the leg which was most alarming; but it has since suppurated, and I think, from what I saw of him yesterday, that he will recover, with care. He has been very fortunate in meeting with Lord and Lady Mahon here. Her visits and attention to him, even in the Lazaretto, were unremitting, and afford a trait very favourable to the character of English ladies.

If this be sent without any additions it may be concluded that we have sailed: but we are told to expect a long passage, as the easterly winds now prevail.

May 30th, 200 miles from Malta, E. by S.

At day-break on the 28th we sailed with a fine moderate breeze, which has continued; the air has been temperate, the sea smooth, and the sky by night and day beautifully clear.

Yesterday spoke an English ship from Patras and Zante. No news: as she raised the yellow flag she was not boarded.

At Malta we left General Oakes very unwell. He is only sixty years of age, but he is not far from his journey's end. Whenever his voyage terminates England will lose one of her bravest officers and the world an excellent man.

The night before we sailed the "Cephalus" brig, Captain Clifford, arrived in two days from Palermo, bringing orders for all the transports to sail immediately to Messina, and for twelve hundred Italians to go to Girgenti. These Italians were originally in the French service, and have been kept many months on board ship, under the superintendence of only one officer. Such treatment has already disgusted them, and I do not think they will quit the continent again if they can once reach it.

May 31st, off the Coast of Peloponnesus.

Our voyage is still prosperous, but the heat is somewhat increased. Spoke a ship yesterday from Trieste, thirty days. No news. She was bound for Malta, where, I forgot to mention, the average number of daily arrivals is thirty; a proof that intercourse with the continent is not effectually closed. We are now sailing in view of the island of Sapienza, and the coast of the Morea which about Maina is very lofty. The mountains are still covered with snow. From this point the scene will be most interesting. Every feature is characterised by some memorial of remarkable note.

June 1*st*.—We are now entering the Archipelago, or, according to the sailor phrase, the Arches.

On our left is the island of Cerigo, the ancient Cythera, above which the high land of the Peloponnesus rears itself in majesty. On our right are the islands of Cerigotto and Candia, where Mount Ida seems to serve as a pillar to the sky. If Charlotte and the boys will look into 'Lempriere's Classical Dictionary,' they will read the principal incidents con-

nected with the history of these places, and feel some of the gratification which I am enjoying by recurring to those recollections.

A little in front of Cerigotto is the rock on which the "Nautilus" struck, about five years since; the greater part of the crew who escaped the sea here perished by famine, after having in vain attempted to sustain life by eating each other. Among those who died was the captain; and our master, Mr. Cunningham, a most excellent officer who sailed with the present Sir Peter Parker five years, heard one of the sailors who survived say that the only piece of human flesh that they thought palatable was "his liver." There are various small rocks hereabouts rising perpendicularly from the sea, which are indisputable remnants of the main land; isolated by some great convulsion of nature, not islets formed by volcanic operation.

The town of Calipso on the Island of Cerigo, is beautifully situated, and a strong castle or citadel that domineers over it greatly enriches the landscape. The land seems to be industriously cultivated, but the pilot tells us that the produce is very scanty and confined to wheat and barley; that there are about twenty thousand inhabitants extremely poor; and that when the French first arrived there they invited the people to rise against the nobility, who were mostly massacred. At present there is a company of British on shore, as Cerigo forms a part of the Ionian republic.

June 2nd, off Milo.

Our fine sky, yesterday evening became obscured, and the wind was foul the whole of this day.

We are now off the port where we are to take another pilot on board, but there is not sufficient daylight to admit of our entering.

We have the Morea still in view on our left; La Falconera, an island often named by Falconer in his 'Shipwreck,' but not called after him, also on the left; and Anti-Milo and Milo before us. The land of both is very lofty. Milo is celebrated by Thucydides for its severe punishment; the inhabitants having refused to join the Athenians in a war against the Lacedæmonians. I remember that the speech of their ambassador was in very hard Greek, which made me less regret their misfortune.

June 6th, Harbour of Milo.

On the 3rd of June we entered the harbour of Milo, and anchored, as the wind was foul and blowing strong. After dinner I persuaded Rose and Frere to go ashore and sleep at the old town now called Castro. The pilot whom we had engaged, called "Michal," and soi-disant "English Vice-Consul," undertook to receive us. We went in a Greek boat to the entrance of the harbour, which was three miles distant from the ship; the sea being so deep that not less than thirty-five fathoms could be found nearer the mouth of the harbour than we are now riding, and although we are so far in we have still twenty fathoms.

We disembarked at the ruins of the ancient arsenal, of which there are considerable remains; there are also many catacombs excavated to a considerable height in the cliff. From the beach to Castro is a very steep ascent of about two miles by most rugged paths. Rose was compelled to struggle with his

crutch sticks for a mile, when fortunately a jackass brayed, and afforded a means of conveyance. It was a simple jackass, in verity, to betray himself; but an indiscreet voice has loaded many a man with a sack of troubles that silence would have avoided. Dapper's imprudence, however, made me moralize, and by a practical example instructed my reason through the tickling of my fancy.

The summit of the mountain was crowned by the houses of Castro. They form one of the most singular towns I ever was in. The houses indeed are rather rooms—being only of one story—with flat roofs, rising in ridges one above another with extremely narrow paths, as streets, in front of them.

The very first person whom we saw was a beautiful woman, who, making an exclamation on the appearance of strangers, brought out a group not less fair than herself.

We proceeded to the Vice-Consul's house, where we were received by his family; and we were then satisfied that we had not been deceived in the reports that had been made to us of the Milesian fascinations. Men, women, and children were all of the handsomest race. There was scarcely a countenance that was not worthy of the most eminent pencil.

The dresses of the women were peculiar, for they showed their legs to the knees. I thought some friends of mine would envy these Milo ladies if they saw them; but I should still more object than heretofore to the custom of such an exhibition in England, as it is necessarily accompanied by the wearing of a significant addition, over which falls the skirt of the gown. The dress, in description, is truly not graceful,

but there is, in fact, sufficient drapery altogether to render it far from unbecoming; and I may add, as a citizen of the world, that it is not indecorous.

Further acquaintance with these people has proved to me that the moralities are not regulated by the length of petticoat; but, as an old man observed, "by an attention to, or deviation from, the established usages of a country."

We made a light repast, drank some excellent white wine, dry and sweet; and laid down to repose until six o'clock in the morning, when we breakfasted. We then examined the town, ascended the highest elevation to enjoy a superb view of the Archipelago, entered several houses, which we found very clean in the interior.

Milo once contained thirty-five thousand inhabitants, but a plague in the beginning of the seventeenth century carried off the greater part, and the whole population now does not exceed three thousand five hundred souls. The inhabitants having more than enough for their wants, are now, however, again increasing, and Castro is rapidly extending its buildings.

It is a Grecian custom, that pervades every part but Hydra and Spezzia, for the father of a girl who marries to give up his own house to her and her husband: so that these new establishments were advertisements of so many proposed marriages; and I know no place where wedlock ever seemed to be so much in fashion.

Having exhausted our curiosity at Castro, we descended the hill to the Arsenal; on our way examining various ruins and the remains of the old wall, which, being built of hewn lava in what is

termed Cyclopean form, bears evidence of the remotest antiquity.

The Arsenal afforded us much interesting research; which finished, I took Anthony with me and walked over to the new town of Milo, distant about seven miles. Here I arrived much fatigued, as the road was rugged and the sun very ardent. The chief Greek refreshed me with some excellent wine, and I here again saw specimens of the most admirable works of nature in the human species.

Many of the faces of the women reminded me strongly of my mother, rather by expression of countenance than by exact resemblance of feature.

While resting here, Mr. Liston and Captain Warren passed by, so I joined their party, and proceeded on foot to the boat, distant about three miles, while they rode on asses.

At the new town of Milo there was little to be seen worth noticing. One or two sculptured fragments, and a large piece of marble with a Greek inscription, alone could engage the attention of the antiquarian; but the new buildings of the town, all formed of hewn blocks of stone, impressed a favourable opinion of the modern taste for architecture.

I reached the ship very much wearied. The next morning we went on shore on the western side of the bay, to see a convent inhabited by five Greek priests, at the distance of nearly two miles. I preceded the party, to ascertain the positive time in which this convent, situated on a considerable height, could be reached; and, by a most vigorous exertion, entered the gate in nineteen minutes from the beach. The principal object of my expedition was to gain the

summit of Mount S. Elias, distant about three miles further.

Being desirous of returning home in time to re-embark with Captain Warren, I would not wait here for Mr. Canning and some of the ship's officers, who I knew proposed the same expedition, but proceeded solitarily and through a solitude, to the accomplishment of my labour.

Before I reached the top all my bodily strength twenty times failed me; but a sense of shame braced my relaxed muscles, and the pulse of the heart poured energy through an exhausted system.

At length, after a more severe toil than I ever before endured, for the steep was not only very lofty but the footing most unsafe, I stood on the apex; and, elevated more than two thousand two hundred feet above the sea, commanded a view that could not be obtained from any other position in the Archipelago.

The Master, who followed after I began to descend, took an accurate survey, and I subjoin his list of islands, &c., that the naked eye embraced.

"The coast of Candia from Cape Sassosum, S.S.E., 83 miles; to Cape Spada, S.S.W., 66 miles; Cerigotto, Cerigo, the coast of the Morea from Cape S. Angelo W., 56 miles, to Cape Colonna N., 60 miles, including the Gulfs of Napoli and Ægina; with the islands Macronisi, Phlega, Ægina, Angistri, Poros, Hydra, Trikhera, Spezzia, Thoco, Riconari, and Karavi; Falconera, Anti Milo, Zea, Thermia, Serpho, S. Giorgio to Mount Parnassus, Cape Doro in Negropont, Andro, Ghioura, Tino, Syra, Mycone, Delos, Dragonisi, Stapodia, Rhenea or Great Delos, Siphanto, Naxia, Paros, Antiparos, Argientera, Karo, Heraklia, Amorgo, Nio,

Sikino, Stanpalia, Polikandro, Anaphi, Santorini, Christiana, Little Christiana"—*vide* Master's enclosed paper for further details.

The descent was very painful, and, as I had not discovered a little tank of rain-water on the hill, I regained the convent suffering great drought; but here I found excellent wine, and the best vinegar I ever met with.

The Greek priests were hospitable, but very inferior men to the same order in the Western Church. They are rather public landlords, for they are obliged to sustain all who come and require aid. For this purpose the convent is richly endowed; and, as almost all persons who die leave some land to the establishment, in time the whole island will belong to the priesthood. We saw here one or two ancient Greek inscriptions, and a piece of marble brought from the old town, which I fancied would make, in its present state, a handsome chimney-piece, so I sent it aboard the "Argo."

We returned to the ship in time for dinner. Yesterday Captain Warren, Frere, and Rose, went in the barge to Argientera, an island very near to Milo. I remained to accomplish another project. On descending the hill from Castro, I had observed an altar of the most ancient ages, with an inscription in Greek upon it, lying near a chapel that was building. I took my dragoons with me, two able sailors, and the lieutenant of marines, Lieutenant Twyford, who, I must here note, is a very respectable young man.

We rowed to the arsenal, mounted the hill for a mile, and then I showed the object of my enterprise. The undertaking was formidable. The path of descent

was extremely narrow, winding, and rough. The weight to move not less than 1400 cwt. We, however, began with a resolution to succeed, and if, instead of ten I could command ten thousand such men, I think I might move the world at my will. After dragging the altar several hundred yards, I suggested the advantage of rolling it from field to field, as they lay one above the other on the side of the mountain, with a fall between each of six and seven feet.

This operation greatly aided our progress, and we at length brought the altar down to the flat without any injury. We then drew it a few hundred yards to the shore, where we erected it, and sat down to refresh ourselves with wine that the priest himself brought from the town to sell us. He latterly tackled himself on as a volunteer; an incident of some importance; for the people of the town expressed, as I was told this morning, some dissatisfaction when they heard of our removal of the most ancient monument in their possession; they had designed it as an altar for a new chapel, it having been removed from an old church which was pulled down last year, and where, I presume, it escaped the notice of Lord Elgin when he was in this island.*

I cannot be accused of vandalism, for I did not destroy to possess a fragment. I cannot be charged with pillage, since I had the sanction of the chief person of the island, and also the aid of the priest.

I returned to the "Argo" to dine, and the first lieutenant, Mr. Parr, was kind enough to go with the launch and bring off my prize, which is now stowed between decks, near the mainmast.

* I gave it to Mr. William Hamilton, who set it up in Chelsea.—R. W.

I also found and secured a broken piece of marble, with a Greek inscription in very legible characters, but I fear too imperfect for much information.

The captain, &c., returned in the evening, having been well entertained at Argientera, but having seen nothing remarkable. Argientera has never, indeed, been a place of historical importance.

This morning, although the wind is foul, we are beating out, but without much hope of making a passage further than Paros.

June 8th, off Antiparos.

The wind continued, and continues, directly in our teeth. Between three and five this morning the gale was violent, and we are now under close-reefed topsails, but expect more moderate weather during the day. Numerous islands encircle us, but I do not note them, as it would be but a partial recapitulation of our view from Mount S. Elias.

I forgot to mention that our pilot quitted Smyrna on the 2nd of June, when the plague was in activity there, and along the whole coast of Asia; but it was not known to have reached Constantinople.

June 9th, off Nikaria.

Fine weather, though a little squally at night. Passed at daybreak the celebrated Delos, and have now Samos, Scio, and the coast of Asia, &c., in view.

June 10th, off Scio.

The sun rose gloriously to his throne this morning, covering Asia with a mantle of gold and the European coast with a transparent robe of pearly tissue. No

painter, no poet, could describe the richness of the sky in sufficiently glowing colours.

As we pass close to many of the islands we are enabled to observe their general state of fertility, and we perceive the greatest contrasts. Some are gardens —others entire wildernesses. It does not, however, appear, from such information as we can procure, and the Vice-Consul on board is the very best source, that the prosperity of the Greek settlements in the Archipelago is much affected by the Turkish government; which indeed occupies, with garrisons, only Lemnos, Mitylene, Scio, Stanchio, Rhodes, Cyprus, Candia, and Negropont. The other islands are entirely under Greek municipal laws and authorities, paying a fixed tribute to the Porte; a mode of government which I have often suggested in England as far more advantageous than our habit of garrisoning and establishing ourselves in every new possession at great expense of men and money, without considering whether the objects proposed might not be attained by the occupation of one or two commanding stations as citadels. With our naval superiority we certainly might adopt such a system in the West Indies, and Mr. Hastings told me that the same plan might most successfully be introduced in India.

Some of the Greek islands particularly belong to the Sultanas. Amongst them are Samos, Tenedos, Tino, and Syra. The chief of the eunuchs is their steward.

June 12th, off Tenedos.

Yesterday was a dead calm and the heat suffocating. At one this morning the breeze set in, and we are

now sailing to the Castles of the Dardanelles, distant about twenty miles, where we must anchor and await advices from Constantinople. Mount Athos, a long line of European shore, Samothrace, Imbros, Tenedos, many miles of the Asiatic coast, the ruins of Alexandria Troas, Mount Ida (still capped with snow), the plains of Troy, and the reputed tomb of Antilochus form one majestic scene. The Asiatic coast is particularly rich in woods and fertilised lands. Nor is the sea devoid of interest: ships, small vessels, and boats are traversing it in all directions, and many have a flowing sail, although steering by different points of the compass; while others are becalmed in a still water, presenting seemingly a solid surface which the circum-rolling waves cannot disturb.

June 15th, Argo.

We anchored, early on the morning of the 12th, within two miles of the first Castles of the Dardanelles, instead of Tenedos as was at first proposed. A desire to be near the supposed plain of Troy determined this change of anchorage.

I went on shore on the 13th, and paid a visit to the Aga of Koum Kaleh. Rose and I then went on horseback to Yeni Shehr, which is a village abreast of our ship, to see if we could not set up our rest there; but the houses were all so very miserable that we preferred taking up our night's lodging at Koum Kaleh, to which I was further tempted by the opportunity of having a Turkish bath. Rose rode back to make arrangements for our lodging, and I went on board ship.

After dinner returned with Captain Warren and Frere to Koum Kaleh, where we found Rose in the

caravansary, lying on the floor in a wretched room, with a train of black slaves on march from Constantinople as his neighbours. Accustomed as I have been to pauper lodgings, I confess that I was a little staggered, and half resolved to return to the "Argo;" but as Rose would not, I consented to remain, and passed the night upon a plank resting upon two stones; by this manœuvre I discomfited the grey and sable swarms that expected to make me their prey. At four I rose and went to the bath which had been prepared for me. When undressed I was taken into the sweating room, with an apron girded round me and a cloth twisted on my head in the fashion of a turban. After waiting a few minutes the bather, habited like myself, commenced his operations by pressing both hands hard upon my chest and stomach, and thence all over the body; this was twice repeated. He then threw some warm water over me which ran through a pipe into a font just by me, and, putting a cloth bag on his hand, rubbed me down with very severe force from head to feet. This part of the process being complete, he deluged me with hot water; then, making a great bowl of lather, he dipped some Egyptian flax in it, and covered me till I was more like an alabaster figure than a living man. An inundation of hot water followed, then more rubbing, and, finally, ablutions so rapid as quite to take my breath away. From this apartment I went to the outer room, where the turban which had been removed after the first ten minutes, was replaced, and I was rubbed dry. Clothes were then thrown over me, and I concluded with a pipe and a cup of coffee.

I think that this purification was more complete

than any I ever had in my life, and I felt light as a feather. The profusion of hot water and of soap, and the thorough rubbing, determine in my opinion the superiority of the Turkish bath over all others; and I have only to regret that I am made acquainted with a luxury which I cannot pursue through my life.

At seven Lieutenant Twyford, Captain Warren, and Frere who then came on shore, Rose and I with Allen and another servant, two Turks, and an interpreter, mounted to examine the plain of Troy, and proceeded to Bunarbashi, the supposed site of the ancient city. Our cavalcade was picturesque, but more adapted for Hogarth's pencil than for that of Apelles.

Some of us had no saddles, others only half a bridle, and more than one no bridle at all. Stirrups were distributed in the same proportion. Immediately out of the town of Koum Kaleh runs a river called the Mendereh by the Turks, but the Scamander by Mr. Chevalier, Messrs. Morrett and Gell. As we passed I happened to say that it was not knee-deep. There was a general outcry against that opinion. I persisted. Bets were offered, which I took; but not being very desirous of making a practical experiment after my bath in the morning, of a cold bath at this hour, I showed a disposition to recede, which occasioned a general uproar of triumph.

At that moment the proverb "Rira bien qui rira le dernier" flashed across my mind. I jumped from my horse and walked across the Scamander, which did not flow within an inch of the cap of my knee, although by the splashing of the water I was wet much higher

The eight dollars, which I received immediately, afforded me no satisfaction in comparison of that which I derived from establishing the validity of my assertion on a subject which bore greatly upon other arguments.

After riding above five miles we came to a solitary house, around which were considerable ruins, evidently of the time of Greek domination; and, indeed, we saw, in various parts of the plain, fragments, foundations, granite pillars, &c., proving that this part had been much inhabited, a fact which Chevalier and his disciples do not notice. He only mentions the ruins of the Thymbræan Apollo's temple, and does not place even in his map these ruins of Koum Chi, or "The Village of the Sand."

From Koum Chi we moved on towards Bunarbashi. When very near I saw a snake between four and five feet long swiftly gliding. I sprang to the ground, and with my sword made a blow which severed about four inches of the tail from the body. The snake immediately reared to attack me, and opened very considerable jaws. A cry from the Turk warning me to retire seemed to frighten the snake, for he immediately darted forward, but I overtook him, and, as he rose with violent fury to project himself upon me, my sword happily cut him in half. The head portion, however, continued to advance, and would have gained security, if Allen had not most opportunely severed the head with about three inches from the rest of the body. Even then the head advanced several feet, and continued to the last eager for revenge, griping the sword that was thrust into its mouth.

The Turks scolded me greatly, and said that the snakes of this species were exceedingly venomous. This was the third snake we had seen that morning.

We reached Bunarbashi, where we found a miserable apartment that the storks and swallows shared with us. We, however, got some eggs, milk, curds, and the juice of boiled grapes which makes a very rich syrup. We then went down the hill to look at the cold and warm fountains, which the Trojan *visionaries* had discovered, and which determined their theory.

We found a great variety of springs over the Pacha's garden, which is now called Priam's Garden on Mr. Chevalier's authority: but unfortunately the thermometer, which was in the open air 65°, sunk to 64° on immersion. The only difference between any of the springs was half a degree, and that was owing to the fact that one was gathered in a smaller basin than the others. From this point I went up the hill, descended, and then rose to another much higher, on the top of which Hector's tomb is placed by Mr. Chevalier and others. On our way up another snake darted by me and escaped; but as Mr. Chevalier could find confirmation of Homer's tale in the circumstance of modern women washing at the sources of the Scamander, certainly the incident of Laocoon's serpents obtains some sanction, from the number of snakes that now occupy the site of Troy.

When we reached the top of the hill we saw two mounds: one composed of loose stones, similar to thousands lying on all sides on the ground, and the other of stones and earth, with some bushes growing on the top.

The largest mound could not be above sixteen feet

high, and forty round at its base. The hill immediately falls abruptly down a considerable distance, and at the bottom flows the Mendereh.

Those who adopt Mr. Chevalier's Troad must therefore resign the flight of Hector round the walls of Troy, and Achilles' tour with Hector's body at his chariot-wheels.

When on the mound called Hector's Tomb, I espied some other stones through the bushes, and after walking eighty yards to the right (as facing the sea) I saw a line of small stones, exactly similar to those of Hector's Tomb, about two feet high, and six feet broad, which continued for about sixty yards; and in various parts of the several hills that compose the site of Troy were circular assemblages of stones, as if the commencements of separate heaps: but nowhere could I trace any foundations or excavations, or any symptom of an ancient establishment; except at the Turkish burial grounds, where there are a variety of broken granite columns, and great fragments of buildings.

Having made assurance doubly sure by my observations, which I shall send as a separate paper,* I determined to proceed the same evening on the road to Alexandria Troas; and as Lieutenant Twyford was the only one of the party equal to the prosecution of the journey, I took him, Allen, and one of my Turks, who was previously instructed by the interpreter as to my objects.

We rode about twelve miles; the first six through a very wooded country in which, as our Turk explained to us, there were wild beasts. He made us, as

* See Appendix.

it was growing late, load our pistols and keep together.

As we proceeded I had opportunity of ascertaining that the hill, which rises above the Mendereh on the opposite side to Hector's Tomb, does not even form a part of Mount Ida; but that a plain intervenes, of several miles in extent, before the very first ridge of Ida can be reached. At the end of six miles we came to a Turkish village, where we saw in a burial-ground great fragments of Greek architecture. We then journeyed through a most beautiful and richly-fertilized country for three miles. This whole district seemed like one park, that had been thrown into arable and planted with vines.

The next three miles lay partly through woods of the Ilex, and partly over a heath covered with the strongest aromatic herbs.

At the term of this space we entered El Kaleh, and passed a mosque built of the finest hewn stone, which had been taken from the ruins of Alexandria Troas. This taste gave me some hopes of one decent residence at least in the town: but I was woefully disappointed; we were shown a den without even a window.

I would have lain out with joy, but the dew was heavy, the air was very cold, and I had no coat but the one I wore, and that without a waistcoat.

We procured some eggs, milk, and onions, turned out about a dozen Turks who came to visit us, and then lay down: but not to close our eyes, for that was impossible to all but Allen.

When long-wished for day dawned I rose, conscious of what would meet my eyes. My body was in all parts covered with blotches, and my linen with blood.

I immediately stripped at the back of the hovel, and killed eleven fleas in as many seconds, while hundreds leapt about me. Mr. Twyford was in a worse condition; the keenness of the air had tempted him to use a Turkish rug as a coverlid. No Egyptian plagued for Pharaoh's hard heart ever suffered more.

Having made the best use we could of the fingers and the air-bath, we got some milk for breakfast, and then mounted our horses.

Our guide led us through a very fine country, showing us many interesting monuments of Alexandria Troas in our road; such as a paved way like the Appian, massive portions of buildings, &c.: after a ride of seven miles he brought us to the famous warm springs which flow into the river Ujule, and which, some pretend, being shown to Alexander the Great as the source of the Simois, induced him to build his new city in the neighbourhood.

These springs were so warm that I could not keep my fingers in the water for a second, and the river ran for a considerable distance covered with smoke.

These waters being celebrated for the cure of many complaints, have been much respected by the Turks, who have built two great baths; or, which is more probable, only the domes to the ancient walls, for several Greek fragments are still visible, and the drapery of one statue is beautiful in the most exquisite degree of sculptural perfection.

The view along the valley from the baths is very rich, and the river meanders with considerable breadth of water through it. If I had been able to command my time I would have traced this river to its source near the Gargarus, and its embouchure into the sea.

It has been determined that Homer's Troy was not situated here, otherwise the hills at the back, covered with wood, and gradually ascending to the Gargarus, the warm spring, the smoking river, and various other features, would induce me to suspect that Homer had described this scene; and more especially as there is a considerable river, which takes its source in Gargarus, rises at no great distance from this imagined Simois, and has, I strongly suspect, connecting streams. Leaving the baths we ascended a hill, and at the top of it entered the wall of Alexandria Troas, called by the Turks Eski Stamboul. The view from this point was magnificent, and the position at once made manifest the genius of Alexander as a soldier and the founder of empires.

Two tombs of beautiful form, and of considerable elevation, lay immediately on our left, and a ruined tomb on the right of the road.

We proceeded to what is called a temple, but it appeared to me more like a palace. The remnant is magnificent: nine arches of the central building are entire, and the right wing is nearly perfect. The interior is completely a ruin, but of stupendous character. Our excellent Turk, even, deplored the devastation, as he showed us the broken ornamented architraves.

Thence we went to the Theatre, which is in great preservation: and within fifty yards we saw a circular building, which Chevalier does not notice, but which I should have conceived to have been a great prison, if the recess had not been faced with marble. This is also very little injured.

We then descended to the port, passing an innume-

rable multitude of granite columns, foundations, &c. The port is now closed, but the two basins still are filled with water, which flows through the sand: and amidst the ruins of the structures that surrounded the harbour, a portion of the largest granite pillar that I ever saw is still lying. The entire city was encompassed with a wall, and the whole embraced a space of three miles square. What remains is a proud memorial of the grandeur and the taste of those days.

I have never met with a good history of the settlement and destruction of Alexandria Troas, but I think it would be worth a person's while to collect the facts of the first, and add a detailed account of its present condition. Here are positive data to justify the employment of time and the expense of research.

On leaving Troas to return by the sea-shore we saw many hundred cannon and mortar balls, made by the Turks from the granite pillars of the city, and this work of devastation seems to be in progress still. Our expedition to the Dardanelles this war, contributed greatly to the havoc.

Our horses were very weary, but I resolved to reach the ship as quickly as possible, since I was very uncomfortable without linen, &c.

During our ride we met three Agas dismounting to enjoy a pic-nic fête, spread under the shade of a fine tree. They invited me to partake, but I declined their favour and pressed on to Yeni Shehr, where we procured a Greek boat and rowed to the ship, leaving my horse immoveably prostrate on the beach.

We found the "Salsette" frigate, Captain Hope, at anchor close to us. She had returned from Malta, but ran aground as she was bringing to, near us. By

the exertions of the "Argo's" people and her own she was got off yesterday morning, after a repose on a bed of sand for fourteen hours. She brought us no news from Malta, although she sailed five days after our departure. I was very happy to re-equip myself, and having done so I forgot all my travails and felt equal to any immediately fresh undertaking.

This morning Mr. and Mrs. Liston are gone to Bunarbashi; she will travel in a cart drawn by oxen. I think she has done right to brave all inconveniences, but if she sleeps where Warren and I did she will certainly leave the greater part of her skin behind.

17*th.*—This morning Warren, Frere, and Rose went in a boat to Alexandria Troas. I wished to read 'Homer' through again, and therefore declined the party.

I am sorry to find that my *Asiatic acquaintance* will still pursue me as *bosom friends.* I was again this morning all dyed; and, notwithstanding a great slaughter, I fear there are many still in ambush.

In the afternoon I went on shore to take a view of the whole plain from the heights of Yeni Shehr, that I might certify some opinions expressed in a memoir that I am writing on the subject.*

While there an old woman asked the interpreter who was with me whether I would buy an ancient piece of marble that her husband had dug up about three weeks since, in the yard of the house. I was shown the bosom and arm, with the hand, of a female statue. The drapery appeared to me of the most exquisite workmanship, especially that portion which

* See Appendix.

covered the upper part of the arms, and was fastened up by three ornamented clasps. The nails of the fingers also proved that a master had directed the chisel.

The first price was 10*l*., but by a well-feigned indifference, I secured the prize for as many shillings. Although the fragment weighed three hundredweight, my Greek companion carried it through the town on the top of his shoulders. The sailors of the "Argo" then descended the hill with it to the boat, but with some difficulty, as the path was very narrow, steep, and stony or covered with prickles against which they had only naked feet to present; a circumstance which I note to prevent the unfavourable comparison of an Englishman's strength with that of a modern Greek; and yet, in justice, I must say that Ajax himself could not have lifted a greater weight, and that until I saw the feat, I could not have conceived that any but an Ajax could have performed it.

It is my intention to address all the antiquities that I have collected or may collect to the charge of Commander Grey, until my return. The last acquisition I consider as the most interesting not only to the patrons of art, but to the examiners of history.

On coming on board I found a messenger on his way to England. He left Constantinople yesterday morning, and now awaits the return of Mr. Liston, who, I fear, has been induced to extend his tour to Alexandria Troas, and who, in that case, will not be here before the day after to-morrow. The dispatches are said to be of great importance.

The messenger insinuates peace with the Turks and Russians, and war with France; and assures us that

a Russian officer is actually with Mr. Canning in the ambassador's residence.

I am become a niggard in belief, and, therefore, I shall not examine the probabilities of the intelligence, but await official advice. A Russian officer actually under the British Minister's roof is a strange incident, if it be true!

18*th*.—Mr. Liston came on board at daybreak this morning, and Captain Warren's party during the night. Mr. Liston is now reading the despatches, which are to proceed in an hour to Malta in the "Salsette." He has just told me that peace is nearly concluded between the Turks and Russians. This is very important public intelligence; and, personally, most interesting.

The next letters that I write will, probably, clearly designate my operations.

June 21st, off the Dardanelles.

On the 18th Mr. Kerr, accompanied by one of my dragoons to Mitylini, left the "Argo" with our letters. He is to go on board the "Salsette," which sailed in the morning with Captain Warren, Rose, and Frere; and then he is to be conveyed on board the "Wizard," cruising in the Gulf of Smyrna, which will carry him to Malta.

On the 19th went on shore to dig for antiquities, but was unsuccessful.

On the 20th went to Enikar, a village distant five miles on the sea-coast to the westward. The Aga was very civil, and almost cried when he saw my Turkish medal with the inscription "Sultan Selim." Indeed that sovereign seems to be regretted by all,

and if he had been a *father*, in all probability he would now have been reigning.

His successor Mahomed, who was the last of the race, has become a great favourite, for having been the sire to three princes in eight months; and I hear that two more of his wives will augment his claim to popularity in a few weeks.

Last night one of the men of the "Argo" was drowned, and another nearly lost while procuring water at Koum Kaleh. The current of the Dardanelles is, indeed, a most formidable danger. Had Homer ever been here, he certainly would have noticed it.

Another local feature must also have attracted his observation—Mount Athos, which, although distant above eighty miles, is clearly visible from the lowest part of the shore every morning and evening, at rising and setting sun.

22*nd.*—News arrived in the night of peace having been ratified by the Grand Signior.

Although Captain Warren and the others had not returned, Mr. Liston thought he was bound to proceed to Constantinople without delay, for Italinsky* was to arrive there in a few days.

Four boats for the baggage and three for passengers having come, this morning has been passed in loading the flotilla.

My presence at the instant not being necessary, I resolved to ascend Mount Ida, ascertain the sources of the Mendereh and the rivers of Homer, and then descend along the Granicus to see the line defended by Darius and forced by Alexander the Great.

* The Russian Ambassador.

Mr. Morgan the chaplain of the ship, Allen, an interpreter, and a Janissary, proceeded with me upon this enterprise; we were well armed against every marauder except that species whose attacks on our last journey proved so formidable.

There are some difficulties to encounter, but all yield to resolution and perseverance.

We row to the Dardanelles, eighteen miles distant, and then procure horses and the firman of the governor, whose authority in these districts is absolute.

June, Wednesday 24th,
under a tree, near Mount Ida.

On Monday evening, the 22nd, Mr. Morgan and I left the ship, accompanied by Turner and Elliott, The captain and his party had not returned from their Mitylini excursion.

We were very nearly made ill by the motion of the boat, but at ten o'clock reached the Dardanelles at the ancient town of Abydos, and found the English Consul waiting to receive us. We were taken to his son's house at some distance from the shore, and reposed all night on the divans of a decent apartment.

The next morning I waited on the governor to thank him for the attention he had paid to my request for horses, &c., breakfasted with Mr. Liston who had just arrived, and walked to look at the celebrated great gun which fired once a ball weighing four hundred pounds and upwards, and which was charged with a hundred and fifty-seven pounds ten ounces of powder.

There had been two, but one burst; and as the town was shaken almost to pieces by the explosion of the other, I think no third experiment will ever be made.

On the opposite shore is the castle of Sestos.

This strait is remarkable for the bridge of boats thrown across by Xerxes, which, considering the width —a mile and three quarters—and the strength of the current, must have been a difficult undertaking; and events proved that it was an impracticable one for permanence, "as they did not use the Russian raft bridges."

Lord Byron proved that a Leander might swim across, but his Lordship, unlike his pré-nageur, had not been courting a Hero and traversing the stream to and fro for a long honeymoon.

Provided with one of the most strongly expressed letters from the governor of the Dardanelles, an interpreter, a Janissary, and a Turk given me by the Capudji Bashi, who had been sent down to receive the embassy, Morgan and I, with Allen, left the Dardanelles.

We passed through a fine woody country to Bairamitch, twelve hours distant, where we arrived about eight o'clock. The people of the Aga—for the Aga himself was at a country-house—received us courteously, and we were fêted with all that could be desired.

The next morning at five o'clock the Aga returned and we were introduced to him. This Aga had been governor at the Dardanelles when the British fleet forced their passage, and is well known to many of the English. He is now about seventy years of age, but a hale man, and he looks what he is, a Mountain Pacha. He afforded us various interesting details of topography, ordered us all necessary aid, directed his son-in-law, a captain of fifty, to accompany us, and presented me with a rich Persian carpet. These were, as I have been assured by all, unparalleled honours.

On taking leave of him, after smoking two pipes and breakfasting on various milk dishes, we proceeded en route. I wished to kill a large snake, but the Turks objected, informing me that he was not of a venomous species.

Their humanity to reptiles is truly a strange contradiction of their general indifference to the lives of their fellow men.

After a pleasant ride of an hour and a half we were directed to dismount near a stream and some fine sycamore trees, under which we found carpets spread.

June 24th, Wednesday Evening,
half-way up Mount Ida.

In a short time a very handsome collation, composed of nine dishes, was brought to us by the order of the Aga of Bairamitch. Allen only was a little inclined to mortify his appetite, as fingers were used instead of forks.

In an hour we proceeded through a fine country, a little mountainous, until we reached the base of Mount Ida.

The ascent was very abrupt for three or four miles, when we re-descended a little along a path perilously narrow. In another hour we reached the subterraneous sources of the Mendereh. With the greatest difficulty we climbed to the caves out of which the water issues, and which are about one-fourth part of the way up the mountain of Megara, the residue of which is perpendicular. The stream rushed out from two cavities, and fell thirty yards into a bed of rock.

Our guide, a Trojan woodman, conducted us into the cave with a lighted pine torch, where we found the

water flowing through a natural marble gallery of about ten feet broad and from twenty to thirty high. As he told us that the gallery continued a long way, I resolved to walk as far as our light would permit; and not to be left in the dark I was obliged to enter the coldest water in the extremest perspiration. We advanced about two hundred yards, generally knee deep, until we came to an immense marble chamber, very like the central excavation under High Wycombe hill. The guide would not suffer me to proceed further than to enable me to ascertain that the inlet into this chamber was another long gallery. He afterwards told me that, according to tradition, one peasant had many years ago proceeded several miles, but could not reach the end; and as the attempt had very nearly cost his life, all persons had been deterred from making a similar experiment.

Morgan and Allen did not go into the water, by my advice. I thought it unwise for the former, as we had to sleep out, to put his constitution to so severe a trial; and unfair to permit the latter to do it, as he could not take much interest in the subject.

We descended the hill with less difficulty than I had anticipated, and, having rejoined our horses, proceeded higher up Mount Ida about two miles. Here we fixed our piquet for the night on a little plot of open ground, round which a rivulet flowed.

A lamb provided by the Aga, was slain, skinned, dressed, and devoured, within an hour. As the nights are extremely cold in these lofty regions, we are making a large fire, which will also serve as a protection against the wolves, which swarm in these parts.

Allen, to secure himself, has swung a hammock between two trees.

June 28th.
A Turkish Caique, near the Island of Marmora.

The night passed to the satisfaction of all parties, but we were drenched with the dew. At dawn we were on our route along a path that occasionally was as frightful as Mahomet's razor-bridge to Paradise. In an hour we reached a small plain covered with cattle, and dismounted at a colony of Turcomans, who inhabit Ida during the summer months for the sake of the pasturage, and descend to the Dardanelles with their flocks, &c., in the winter.

The men are very dark in complexion. They live in wigwams, like Caffre huts, made of reeds covered with coarse cloth. Their religion, laws, and customs, are distinct from those of the Turks, with whom they have no other intercourse than that which is necessary for the mere traffic of goods. The Aga of Bairamitch receives their tribute.

I saw several of their women and children; the latter were peculiarly beautiful, and I was assured that many of the wives were as handsome as any in the Sultan's seraglio, though it was not my fortune to see favourable specimens.

We partook of a copious repast of rice, rice and milk, clouted cream, scalded cream, cheese, and cows' butter, as good as any ever produced in England.

The wolves had, during the night, devoured, in spite of numerous and fierce dogs, one fine horse, and severely mangled two others; one of these we saw with a still bleeding wound in the upper part of the thigh.

After our breakfast we proceeded towards the top of Ida, and in about two hours reached the summit, where we experienced more than the gratification we had anticipated.

The view embraced a circle of vast magnitude. On one side we beheld Scio and the heights above Smyrna; in another direction part of the coast of Europe; at a different point the sea of Marmora, and we imagined that we saw Constantinople, which, at sunrise and sunset, is said to be distinctly perceptible. The snowy summit of Olympus completed our splendid panorama.

The very top of Ida is destitute of trees, but the most fragrant violets, heaths of an infinite number of species, snowdrops—one of which Morgan plucked from the very midst of a wreath of snow—&c., enamel the ground; and the very stones are ornaments, since they consist of marble, granite, and various coloured minerals.

At one moment Ida is to be recognised as the parterre of Venus, or the couch of Juno when she enamoured the Thunderer; at the next as the richest laboratory of Vulcan.

Upon the apex is the grave of a Dervish, called Saint Barba, and close to it a nearly circular pile of stones that formed his kitchen, &c.; among these was a flat stone which formed a conspicuous table.

Having contemplated for some time the grand scene below and around us, we commenced our descent in a northern direction. The route was, at best, impracticable for horses, and very difficult for men. In about three hours we reached the forest region. The

way then somewhat improved, and the shade of the trees was very grateful.

These trees are of extraordinary magnitude, many of them more than a hundred and forty feet high, and twelve feet round. The workmen employed in felling them for timber, for making pitch, &c., are also the finest models of their kind that ever bore an axe.

When we had toiled about three hours, we left our horses, and, bending to our left, sought the sources of the river Suchukti, which flows into the Mendereh.

A variety of streams poured out of the rocks above the bed of the river, and from the higher parts of the mountains.

In descending, our poor Jew dragoman and the captain of fifty had severe falls, which obliged the former to slide, in a sitting position, for a long way. While we were laughing at his misfortune, or rather at his ridiculous figure—ridiculous from the character of the dress which he wore, and which made him look rather like an old woman wrapped up in the necessary defences against an English winter, than a traveller in an Asiatic summer—Morgan and I were obliged to bring up in the same manner, and for some way to *drive our coaches*, on *seats* which riding had a little damaged.

From these sources we moved along the river, and in about half an hour came to a fall of about thirty feet, at the bottom of which was a warm spring. The Turks are said to use this as a bath for cutaneous diseases. Around it numerous votive offerings of pieces of wool, amulets, rags, &c., are hung.

Descending a little lower, we came to an open spot,

where our horses had been ordered to join us, and where we were to wait for an hour.

Morgan and I proposed to profit by the opportunity of bathing; and, calculating on Allen's arrival with clean linen, &c., I undertook to wash that which I had on; or rather, to use a Turkish phrase, to "purify it by ablution," for I had no soap, and the water was peculiarly hard; indeed, it was so very pure and cold from the rock, that Morgan would not execute his intention, fearing to be chilled by ague.

I scrubbed, and beat, and wrenched very strenuously, but nothing would remove the effects of dust and flea-bites. However, I calculated on having fixed them, and went on to the drying process; but as no Allen came, I was obliged to constitute myself, in washerwoman's phrase, block and horse.

When I was dressed the horses appeared, but too late for me to profit by the stock in my cloak-case; so I comforted myself with a portion of sheep which had been slain, &c., on my arrival, and which the woodmen of Ida had provided.

After a little time we, to my great regret, reascended a mountain nearly half as high as the principal Ida hill; but we were gratified along our course by views which the most glowing language could but faintly picture. No words could impart the feelings which we experienced; our thoughts were "exalted, raised, refined." Even Allen was enthusiastic, and could not help exclaiming, "Well! this caps all that I ever saw."

Our road continued up precipices which I never thought a horse could climb until this trial, yet only two gave in out of the whole number.

On our descent we overlooked a rich plain, at which we arrived after a march of fourteen miles.

On the declivity, we came to a cottage, out of which a man with a very fine countenance, but quite blind, walked to give us water. He was attended by a very pretty little child, to whom I gave some small money. The child ran to tell her mother, who was so pleased, that she came to the door without her veil, and showed me one of the loveliest faces that ever graced any country. As she was of slender form, I presume that she was not a Turkish woman.

Since the village of Chirpidar afforded very inferior accommodation, we determined to rest for the night in a field near the town, where, after a rural supper, we slept well. At day-dawn the Turks brought us milk, rice, coffee, &c., and we then mounted to pursue our way.

Our route lay through the Vale of Bairamitch for three miles, when we came to a village where, while the party was halting to procure a fresh horse, two dogs rushed out and attacked me so furiously that I was obliged to draw my sword against them; and I doubt if I could have defended myself without being seriously torn, if a Turkish woman, pitying my distress, had not sallied out to relieve me. Her voice made the Cerberi obedient, but her face would have scared the devil. She was almost too ugly for me to express acknowledgments, and I was quite angry with myself for not having taken out of my girdle the pistol which I always wore, for the momentary neglect exposed me to such a mortifying obligation.

We then crossed the Ak Dagh Mountains, and followed the course of the Ak Dagh river, which falls into the Granicus.

If we had not passed Ida we should have considered this range very lofty; but even the recollection of Ida could not deprive it of a claim to our admiration on account of the woods which clothe the whole, and crown the summits. At the village of Gulakeia we first saw the Granicus, which rises in, or rather is formed by, a collection of waters flowing from the Kasalmia mountains, nine miles distant.

The sight of the Granicus awakened a train of new thoughts. The genius of man superseded the works of nature, and the intellectual spirit which animated Alexander the Great was a subject for more philosophical reflection than the massive features and verdant decorations of inanimate matter. The former ascended direct to the Godhead; the latter was connected with the Creator by a chain too complicated and extended for equally elevated impressions.

About a mile further on we came to some hot mineral baths, where I saw several persons bathing. Half a mile beyond we entered the town of Tapikeia, where an Aga received us. His name was Hadji Selim Effendi, a man of the law, with a countenance expressive of that sense which we found in his conversation. He was also very well informed, and knew the history of those events which induced us to trace the course of the Granicus. He gave us a very excellent dinner, and begged us to remain all night: but finding me inexorable, as I resolved from the beginning not to lose an hour that could expedite my journey, he ordered a man to go with us, until he came to the field of battle, which he accurately described; gave me a beautiful Persian carpet, and Mr. Morgan another; and, further, sent forward to direct the people in his

palace at Pasakeu, twelve miles distant, to receive us at night.

We rode through a luxuriant vale, crossed the Granicus twice—it was not deeper than to our horses' girths, but in the winter must be a great river—and at Pasakeu were met by the Aga's son, twelve years of age, another of seven (the latter a most promising child), the judge, and a relative of the Spanish Consul at the Dardanelles, who had formerly been in the employ of the French, and who spoke their language fluently. After usual courtesies, Morgan and I absented ourselves to bathe in the Granicus. We then returned to supper, at which the young Agas' and the judge's fingers only were mingled with ours. We passed a very good night on divans, free from fleas, which is a most notable incident.

The next morning at day-dawn, after a good breakfast, at which the eldest of our young friends presided, we mounted our horses; but our party was reduced by the separation of our dragoman, who, being a Jew, could not travel on the Sabbath, according to the laws of the Levant Rabbis. We were, however, provided with all necessary substitutes; and as I had on board ship written out above a thousand Turkish words, by reference to them and the knowledge I have of the language, I had to apprehend little inconvenience.

I verily believe that if the Jew's power of sitting had not been diminished by his fall, his conscience would not have been correspondingly tender; but as I had no diachylon to offer for relief of the bodily pain, it came in aid of the religious scruple, and he passed for a good Jew for the day.

We rode twenty-one miles along the banks of the

Granicus, occasionally passing from the left to the right bank, and through a country which is only rivalled by some of the richest valleys of Wales.

At that distance we came to Boacherie, where we were received and entertained by an Aga not more than seventeen years of age, whose name was Emeth, and who is betrothed to the daughter of the son-in-law of the Aga of Bairamitch; a very good-looking young man, but whose military establishment was in much better order than his domestic arrangements. He, however, gave us a very good dinner, and attendants who were of great service in expediting our departure from Karaboya.

Boacherie is a Greek town; the first we had seen since quitting the Dardanelles, and the worst; for through all our route we had met with a peasantry well clothed and decently lodged (with the exception of fleas), but here all was poverty and unseemliness.

From Boacherie we rode through a very fine and extensive plain, in which we saw many herds of handsome horses and brood mares, and waggons creaking as in Portugal.

At the distance of five miles we ascended a height on the left of the road, which nature has formed in the shape and with the advantages of a half-moon battery, concave to the Granicus; it is about a hundred yards in altitude, and one mile in length, with a little hill in front of the right, which would serve for an advanced work. This hill, called Savach-tapi, is supposed to have been the station of Darius during the battle, and about a mile in the front still exist five arches of a bridge, built in later ages to mark the spot where Alexander passed after a severe conflict in the stream.

This bridge is now called Arkupoi. A great part is covered with marble and a marble column stands upright on the western point, and a broad paved ancient road leads up to it at both extremities. About two hundred and fifty yards on the western front of the bridge is a ridge of ground that sweeps round nearly three-quarters of a mile from bank to bank of the Granicus, and which must have afforded the Persians, if it be the battle-field, a very commanding position for their first line of defence. As I stood on the bridge, I revolved the records of history in my mind till I imaged the scene that had been witnessed here, and "twice I slew the slain." But as this delirium is not to be communicated by words, I shall not expose my description to the comments of the unambitious. I only hope my boys may one day view the same place with my feelings, and then there may be a chance of future warriors visiting the scene of their exploits.

With reluctance I quitted this theatre of glory and historical interest, and after a fourteen miles' further march reached Karaboya, where, notwithstanding entreaty to remain a night, we resolved to embark immediately, in a boat that was to have sailed the next morning to Marmora with the Cadi, but which our superior authority accelerated.

While the boat was preparing we inspected the remains of the old town, situated at the point of a promontory. The ruins of the town and walls are considerable: and the former are of a very unusual height and density. From the observations I was able to make I regarded it rather as a great military port than a city; but as yet I can find no record of the

place in any of the books that I have at command, to give me the information which I want on this subject. It was decidedly of the most ancient time, and so perfect that it appeared as if the inhabitants had only quitted it a year or two before, after unroofing the tenements.

I took leave of all my faithful and friendly attendants but one, I believe with mutual cordial wishes, and at eight o'clock we pushed off from the shore. The night was calm, but by rowing and light airs we made considerable progress.

June 28th, off Marmora.

We landed at the Island of Amoya to make a fire and boil some coffee. I was very unwell at the time, in consequence of a copious draught of some Greek wine the night before, to which I had not been accustomed during my journey.

We soon re-embarked, and reached Marmora about ten o'clock in the morning, when I was still suffering great pain. I, however, thought that bathing in the sea would cure me, and I have found benefit from it, and great relief by the slaughter and drowning of a host of fleas which had been devouring me. Morgan was also much benefited by the same operation.

Having waited at Marmora for the work of the laundress, during which two hours we got some excellent fish, we re-embarked: we had seen nothing in the town to admire and notice but the civility of several Turks, and the ruinous state of a place which has mountains of marble within four miles, which furnished materials for the most magnificent palaces ever built; a place which, notwithstanding, has not a single tenement of its own fit to lodge an English pauper.

About three miles from the town of Marmora we landed at a little village on the island called Kamela; more ruinous than any in Ireland, although all the materials that compose the cottages are marble or granite.

We are now sailing along the island and the marble hills, a sight to me perfectly novel, and which I note among the rare objects that I have seen in my travels.

We are now rowing to the European coast, distant fifteen miles, in hopes of meeting the land wind. The sun has set, and the day is fast leaving us to darkness and to fleas, which render the few hours in which I attempt to rest the most unquiet of the twenty-four.

July 1st, Constantinople.

The weather obliged us to proceed along the shore of Marmora nearly to the end of the island. It was about midnight when Mehemet Dar, the Turk sent to us by the Capudji Bashi and the only one who embarked with me, awoke us with a "Hist!" to keep silence, and a sign to his musket for us to take our arms. On looking for the cause we saw a boat moving towards us, which Mehemet afterwards told us was a pirate-boat; and a signal-light blazed for a moment from the shore, and was then extinguished.

Our Greeks pulled more manfully than before, and in about a quarter of an hour we fell in with another vessel, standing on the same course with ourselves. The pirate probably did not choose to risk action with the crews of two caiques, or rather with the Turks that might be on board of them—for the Greeks are not allowed to wear arms—and that a Turk was on

board Mehemet Dar took care to let them know as soon as he saw a consort, for then he began to sing with Stentor lungs.

His object was to secure us, as his charge, not to act the bravo; for I am certain by his manner, &c., that he would have died in our defence if that sacrifice had been necessary. Throughout the whole journey he proved himself a faithful companion; and with such a man I would adventure life and liberty, in confidence that he would do all that man could do to preserve them.

As we had no awning in our boat we suffered much from the sun, which flamed upon us from seven o'clock in the morning till seven at night, while we were in her: but on the 29th, as we were very near Erekli—the ancient Heraclea—on the European coast we landed for two hours, saw some ancient remains, and ate eggs and cheese in a Greek monastery, after bathing—a luxury in which we daily indulged, to remove our troublesome adherents.

In the middle of the night of the 29th, as the sails were flapping, I awoke and found all hands asleep. I stirred up the Greeks to make them use their oars, which they had scarcely taken in hand when a most violent squall in a moment came off the land. Fortunately the men were ready to lower sails, by having been roused a few moments before, or we must, at least, have carried away everything. In a quarter of an hour the wind lulled a little, but then began to blow a steady heavy gale. We ran about twenty miles with great expedition, but were drenched with salt water. Having closed in with the shore, the master of the boat would not proceed any further, as,

after passing the next cape, we should have to contend with a heavy sea, and a direct foul wind. We disembarked at a wretched Greek village called Erekli, and as the storm increased I proposed to proceed by land.

We walked five miles, passed a considerable arm of the sea at Buiuk Chekmejeh, on the bank of which the Sultan had a country-house, and were conducted to the Aga, who gave us coffee and pipes, and ordered horses. Buiuk Chekmejeh is a good town, and is remarkable for a very long bridge, or rather four bridges, connected with and rising above each other, so as to fix on the higher ground of the northern bank.

For the first twelve miles we proceeded slowly, although over very fine galloping country. The whole was a plain, as far as the eye could reach, except about a mile above Kutchuk Chekmejeh, where a ridge of high ground, covered by the remains of ancient works, offered a superb barrier for the protection of Constantinople, on that side, against cavalry multitudes. At Kutchuk Chekmejeh we passed another large arm of the sea, that divides into two branches about five miles from the inlet, which is at the northern extremity. Both here and at Buiuk Chekmejeh the body of water is staked off, so as to form preserve fisheries.

From Kutchuk Chekmejeh the ground continues quite open, but there are traces of ancient edifices and works, and a multitude of barrows or earth tombs. None of these, however, that I have yet seen in Asia or Europe equal the magnitude of the *Avebury Mound*.*

* Silbury Hill, near Avebury, or Abury, in Wiltshire, celebrated for its ancient British remains.

Having found the means to stimulate the activity of my postillon-à-cheval, we rode very fast to Constantinople, passing various detachments on march to the Turkish grand army. These were composed of fine warlike-looking men, very well mounted. I, however, saw with pain long lines of baggage-waggons. Some one, speaking of the comforts of a luxurious establishment, observes, "These are the things that make death terrible." Without meaning to detract from the superior dignity of the sentiment, as a soldier I paraphrase the words, and say, "These are the things that make defeat and disgrace, *which are worse than death*, inevitable."

The ground for the last three miles is prettily covered with detached plantations, where the grandees, I presume, have country-houses.

The view of Constantinople is extremely picturesque: the multitude of white minarets with golden balls, the domes of the mosques, and the quantity of cedars that seem to fill the circle of the town, are peculiar and pleasing objects.

Outside of the Adrianople gate is a burying-ground that is large enough for the world's cemetery. The old wall still forms a rampart; but in all times it must have been a feeble defence, as the assailants would approach from advantageous ground.

We rode at least three miles through the streets, which are most uninteresting. I never saw a poorer place; but I was surprised to find Turkish women, even those of the highest class, walking about with their eyes and noses uncovered, so as to display whatever charms of expression they might have in countenance; and I particularly observed, that where a

Sultana had very fine eyebrows and a *gracious* mouth, the veil was accommodated thereto.

Constantinople is divided from Pera by an arm of the sea nearly as wide as the Thames at high water in London. We got into a little boat, constructed upon the canoe principle, and descended to the Bosphorus, which separates Asia from Europe, passing by the Seraglio, which is a collection of minarets, domes, &c., intermixed with cedars, and as close to the water's edge as Delaval's * house at Westminster.

I could not help thinking of the tragic scenes which had been acted within these walls, and which more than balanced the pleasures of Ottoman Monarchs. The view from the shore of the Seraglio presented a grand *coup-d'œil*. The town of Scutari, on the Asiatic side, combined with Pera and Constantinople, the mountains, the water, the verdant ground in both quarters of the world, the bustle of vessels of all descriptions passing to and fro, the variety of costume, of flags, &c., produced a most interesting effect. Nor must I forget to note the tame sea-gulls which float in confident security among the boats, &c., that crowd the passage from Pera to Constantinople, avoiding the oars with great dexterity, without any apprehension of a breach of the compact which they seem to understand has been made between them and men in these parts.

The English Palace is situated a long quarter of a mile up the hill of Pera. This hill is very steep. I found here all my friends whom I had left two days before, and Canning, &c. I had the mortification, however, of learning that the caique with my baggage

* Mr. Edward Delaval, an intimate friend and brother philosopher of Benjamin Wilson, F.R.S., &c., &c., &c., Sir Robert Wilson's father.

on board, had not arrived; nor is it yet come: so I am obliged to remain in the house, as the journey to Ida, &c., has not left me garments in which I can properly present myself out of doors.

We had a very handsome specimen of Liston's mode of entertainment yesterday; and in the evening there was a party of ladies, about fifteen, who came to tea; but as I was very busy in other more important matters, I did not go into the room to look at them.

This morning I felt much refreshed by an excellent night's repose without my usual company. During the day I have been receiving visits from the Spanish Ambassador, from Count Ludolf,* and my ancient friend the Secretary of the Duke of Serra Capreola, who is on his way to S. Petersburg, having left Palermo eight days after me, whence he brought me the best remembrances of the King and Queen.

From them I have learnt the state of the world to a late date. It is strange—"passing strange!" What a complicated array of friends and foes!

Mr. Perceval's assassination was told me yesterday. He has no doubt been a sacrifice to the frenzy of a ruined man; but there are signs of a more than individual aberration from old British feeling in many of the traits which have lately characterised England. I think we are rather becoming ferocious than improving in civilization. Let our rulers look to the temper of the times. No doubt a change of Government has been the consequence. Whoever are Ministers, they must feel that they have no time to trifle. The destruction of Perceval's Administration may save the country by terminating the conflict of contending par-

* The Sicilian Ambassador.

ties; but great wisdom and great energy must combine to check the impetus of revolution.

I rode out this day with Canning in the environs of Pera. The spectacle was brilliant, and I had the good fortune to meet four Royal Sultanas, in a state coach, with the pannels above the door-pannels taken out; so that I enjoyed a complete view, from which they did not shrink. Two were very fat; and one of the party more than pretty.

3*rd*.—Yesterday crossed over to walk in the bazaars of Constantinople. These are ranges of various shops under cover, where all the merchandise of the city is produced for sale in distinct divisions;—in fact, a city of Exeter-Changes. The scene was very amusing, and we were no less objects of curiosity, particularly to the ladies, who swarmed in all directions. *Many* took care to let us see that they were ornaments of the creation, although national laws muffled them up as if their appearance were not a benefit to mankind.

This day I rode out to turn the horn of the sea which separates Pera from Constantinople, and found, after a gallop of four miles, that a river flowing into the sea at the head of the bay intersected the road. This river, passing through a little vale, has been rendered navigable for boats; and the banks having been planted with oaks, sycamores, &c., and coffee-houses, tea-gardens, &c., having been established there, the inhabitants and visitors enjoy a delightful promenade, with the recreations of the Prada at Vienna in miniature. As I rode along, I saw great numbers of waggon-carriages, some drawn by buffaloes, some by oxen, and others by horses; with a variety of men and women groups, walking, drinking sherbet, &c., swing-

ing, or listening to the notes of a guitar sometimes accompanied by vocal music. I did not think there had been such a mirth of soul in the Turks.

I continued my ride to the gates of Constantinople, when I returned to dine with Rose at the Hotel: he has just concluded his entertainment with a Punchinello performance, rather of too indelicate a character for exhibition in England. Had we understood the conversation, I believe that we should have heard broader jests than would have been tolerated in the days of Charles the Second. But I am assured that these performances are admitted into the female establishments of all the Turks, and the scenes acted in presence of the women, without any alterations or omissions—More contradictions.

6*th*.—On the 4th I went to Bugalari, with Captain Warren, that I might pay a visit to the Capitan Pacha, who was lying there with his fleet.

Before we set off, we had the amusement of seeing Frere mounted, with six servants behind, in full dress liveries, to announce Liston's arrival to the different Ministers. The cavalcade was excellent, and would have formed a most delicious subject for Bunbury's pencil. Anthony certainly made the best equestrian squire. The day was very hot, and we were broiled in the boat; but the passage along the canal of the Bosphorus was very beautiful. I counted no less than five palaces belonging to the Grand Signor in a distance of four miles. Houses extend on both banks nearly to Bugalari, which is distant from Pera ten miles by water. The hills are richly covered. Porpoises were rolling in all directions, sometimes within twenty yards of the shore, and within a yard or two of our boat, in

full confidence of security. The boat was, however, too ticklish for a very satisfactory enjoyment of the scene; the least action brought her flat upon her side, and we were obliged to sit in painful immobility. After two hours and a-half, we reached Bugalari, where nine sail of the line and several frigates were riding close to the shore. We disembarked at Count Ludolf's, and sent our dragoman to acquaint the Capitan Pacha with our arrival.

Bugalari is the summer residence of all the Ministers from foreign countries, their dragomans, &c.; and the houses, being built in a line upon a quay, produce a very agreeable effect, although the arts are not honoured in their construction.

In about an hour the Capitan Pacha was seen on his way to his ship, from a little lodging that he occupies on the shore; and presently the dragoman came to inform us that "he would be glad to receive the General and the Captain, but that he had not yet recognised me as an acquaintance by the name." I was almost afraid that he would prove not to be my much-lamented friend's *Lieutenant-General*; but I had no sooner entered his cabin, the cabin of Hussein, than he sprang up, fastened my hand in his, led me to the sofa, and expressed a welcome with such pleasure in his eyes, such cordiality of spirit, and such warmth of words, as quite overpowered me, when combined with other recollections.

Our interview lasted about an hour, in which all our battles were fought over again, all our interesting scenes retraced, all old acquaintance recollected. We mutually rejoiced in the prosperity of some, and mourned over the loss of others. In brief, I found

him all I thought him as a man and a statesman; and from the circumstances that then occurred, I consider that no object of my mission will meet with serious difficulty at Constantinople. We looked over his ship, and Warren was much astonished at her cleanliness and order. She carries a hundred and twenty guns; and several of her long guns are loaded with marble balls of a hundred pounds weight.

We dined with Count Ludolf. In the evening I went to call on Italinsky, the Russian Ambassador, who received me "en frère."

I regretted that I *could not* wait on the Austrian Minister; but I had made his acquaintance in the morning, and we were mutually very courteous. In a few days I shall, however, leave my name with him, as Liston has no objection after Canning's departure, who feels a little displeased with the Austrian Minister's intimacy with France. Liston and I are of opinion that circumstances may occur to render the intercourse of common civility between him and me desirable, and that it will not commit our Government.

The next morning the Spanish Minister took Warren and me, at five o'clock, to the Black Sea, which is distant about eight miles. We landed at the Light-house, and had a very fine view. By nine o'clock we had returned, after inspecting all the castles, &c., and coming to the conclusion that "verily the Mahometan power in Europe is under the especial protection of Providence."

After breakfast I expected to ride to Belgrade, distant seven miles and a-half in the interior, but Frere, not supposing that we should return, had taken the horses lent to us.

I was resolved, however, on not being prevented, and therefore went on foot, although remonstrance was made against the walk as being contrary to the practice of Mussulman, Jew, or Christian, in the burning heat of a July sun.

Warren procured a horse and we proceeded, passing through a long and beautiful valley, under the arches of a noble aqueduct built by the Turks about eighty years ago, and over a hill charmingly wooded, on the other side of which was the village in request.

Our guide first conducted us into the yard of the French Minister, who was a resident here; but his Janissary told him of his mistake, and we hastened away. He then carried us to the house of Pisani, our dragoman, where he counted upon finding Frere and his party; but on entering I saw a French family at dinner, who very politely, on seeing our mistake, asked us to refresh ourselves. We took some wine and water, sat for a little time in their drawing-room, descended to thank them, drank a little more of the best Bourdeaux, and then retraced our steps, declining a horse kindly offered. The family was a true French assemblage, even to the abbé. The children were peculiarly handsome, and the eldest daughter quite a *Rosabella* in childhood's grace. On inquiry, I find that the master of the house is a French merchant, who is under Buonaparte's flag but who does not meddle in politics,—in fact, a person very well thought of by all.

Belgrade is delightful; but the great tanks of water and the thick woods which constitute its beauty are, unfortunately, the causes of malady; and at this season fever commences: indeed, my host told me that he proposed to leave the place, on that account, the next

day; and he expressed great regret at my undertaking such exertions at such a moment.

Frere, Canning, &c., overtook us when we were about four miles from town; but although they offered to dismount a servant, I would not ride, for I thought it unfair to punish another man for my obstinacy. The ground was so hot and occasionally so rude, that my feet were blistered; but I made it out very well, and by occasionally soaking them in sea-water, after my arrival, eating ices, and drinking lemonade, I was quite recovered in half-an-hour, and ready to partake of the Spanish Minister's dinner. His wife is a very pleasing person, from Vera Cruz; and we passed an agreeable afternoon.

This morning I was with Italinsky, and with Admiral Greig who has been here some time under a feigned name, and entered on very important matters; the sum total of which presented a favourable prospect.

After breakfast with Count Ludolf, I put myself into a boat; and being aided by a strong current, broiled only an hour and a-half.

7th.—Yesterday Mr. Radi, the Duke of Serra Capreola's Secretary, showed me the Queen of Sicily's letter to him, in which the most gracious recollections of me by herself and the King were expressed.

This morning I took the Greek pilot, and in defiance of etiquette, and usage for personal security, went over to Constantinople without any attending Janissary. I conceived that the protection, or rather presence, of a Janissary is a mark of fear or distrust; and as the Janissaries are very rude and even violent to the people, they make the Franks so many enemies.

I walked along the walls of the Seraglio, where I saw that the Sultan had lately passed, as the ground was still covered with charcoal; saw Santa Sophia, and the ruins of the palace *vis à vis*, where Mustapha Bairaetar, three years since, blew himself up to avoid falling into the hands of the insurgents; proceeded to the hippodrome; admired the Egyptian obelisk raised by the Greek Emperor Theodosius; and the trunks of the twisted serpents, headless now, the head of one having been struck off by Mahomet the Second when he took Constantinople, and that of the other by some other barbarian subsequently; lamented the state of the Emperor Honorius's column, once cased with brass; and from thence descended into the celebrated subterraneous cistern of Constantine the Great, supported by four hundred and thirty-six pillars of great height and diameter.

Afterwards I strolled through all the bazaars, and nowhere experienced the least inconvenience from the want of a Janissary, but had frequent reason to express thanks for acts of civility.

I returned to Pera rather late, and in reviewing all that I had seen, I found that every man's trade is uppermost in his thoughts; for the overbearing bent of my mind for the rest of the day was to astonishment at the ignorance of so many Sultans who had fallen victims to Janissary rebellions in a city most advantageously disposed for contest by Government; and instead of thinking on antiquities and the general connecting history, I was the whole evening arranging guards and fortified posts. My very dreams were of the same stamp.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

SIR, Pera, July 10th, 1812.

I have the honour to acquaint your Royal Highness with my arrival here.

The "Argo" not being permitted to pass the Dardanelles, after visiting the Troad and examining remains of antiquity actually in existence, and looking for phantasmagoria to which imagination had assigned a "local habitation and a name," I took advantage of the time required for Mr. Liston's arrival at Constantinople to pass from Abydos to the top of Mount Ida, and crossing from thence to the Granicus, to pursue the course of that river to its mouth.

This tour was very interesting, and rendered more agreeable by universal kind attention and hospitality.

From Karaboya I proceeded by land and water conveyances, occasionally along the European coast to this city, where I learnt the death of Mr. Perceval. This intelligence was announced in a Frankfort paper, but without any further details; so that we are rather more embarrassed than enlightened as to the present state of England.

The progress made to the conclusion of the Turkish and Russian peace rendered my presence at the Danube unnecessary; but the design was very favourably entertained by Italinsky, and both he and Admiral Greig, who has been here some time incognito, wished me to proceed immediately to Wilna, where they assured me a most gracious reception from the Emperor.

Mr. Liston, however, thought that some decisive proceeding ought first to take place; so I await his selection of the expedient moment.

Although the Russians have surrendered the Servians, they are very anxious to send a corps into Dalmatia. This is a very delicate affair: Turkey does not like a Russian establishment in that province, and England must weigh well all the advantages and disadvantages as they may affect her own Mediterranean policy.

If we determine that, without such co-operation, Corfu, which is an immense emporium of military equipments, can be wrested from France, and that we can *alone* baffle her formidable designs against Turkey, of which General Tavas has brought from Bernadotte a detailed statement, then the footing of Russia upon the Adriatic may admit of much question. But if, on the other hand, an auxiliary corps is requisite to attain these objects, and create a diversion most alarming to Buonaparte in the state of the neighbouring provinces, then a distant ill may be hazarded for the sake of an immediate advantage of such importance, and I should presume to give the counsel of the Bastard* at the siege of Angiers to the contending kings.

Admiral Greig informs me that Russia has an army of two hundred and eighty thousand men on the Polish frontier, and that forty thousand more are disposable from the Danube.

There is no vaunt, however, of great generals, or effective arrangements.

The boundary line on the Persian frontier suspends the ratification of peace; but I am in hopes that it will take place in a few days, and that Russia will not trifle about the navigation of the Phasis, when she

* Shakespeare: King John, Act II.

scarcely even scrupled to re-impose the Turkish yoke upon her allies, the Servians.

The Grand Signor is completing and equipping his army at Schumla. The detachments which I have seen on march are in very good order. The Grand Vizir has been unfortunate; but he is reputed a very able man. The Capitan Pacha was the Lieutenant of Hussein Pacha, and is known by all the Egyptian officers as a very active well-disposed person. In the late war with Russia and against various rebels he has very much distinguished himself—"thanks," as he himself tells me, "to the lessons he learnt from the British in Egypt."

The Grand Signor is by all reputed a very able sovereign, indefatigable in application to business, and of undaunted courage. The Janissaries fear his character and his designs, and, I believe, not without reason. In the interim he is wearing a suitable mask, attends to religious observances with a devoted zeal, and is less communicative with Franks than any of his predecessors.

Whether he will choose a moment of war or of peace for the execution of his plans will probably depend upon circumstances yet to arise.

But even under Janissary prejudice and despotism civilization is advancing. A Frank, and particularly an Englishman, may now walk alone in assured security, and intercourse is at his own option.

The conduct of Austria has given and gives great uneasiness here; but Austria has also cause for inquietude, as Hungary is by no means embarked in the family interests of the Emperor. Our last news from Bucharest is of the date of the 20th of June. War

was then, according to recent advice from Poland, hourly expected.

I wish that hostilities might be deferred another year. Our chances of an auspicious commencement would be increased.

The Turks have an old saying, that "when the Ottomans are at peace with Russia, plague re-appears;" and this prejudice, unfortunately for reason, has acquired proselytes by the symptoms that have shown themselves in the last few days; but we hope, in Turkish medical phraseology, that although the "accidents have been on the increase, it will not *take*"—since the disease has been brought from Smyrna and not from Egypt.

For myself I have no apprehension.

In the course of my researches, having obtained a small gold coin of Alexander the Great, I have transmitted it to your Royal Highness by Captain Warren, as the execution is deemed very perfect, and as I conceived that the memorial of such an illustrious personage might justify the presentation.

Mr. Liston is very well, and his arrival has caused great satisfaction, since there was almost an open rupture between Mr. Canning and the Porte.

I have the honour to be
Your Royal Highness's most obedient
and attached servant,
ROBERT WILSON.

I fear peace between Russia and Turkey is not so certain as was presumed. The Turkish Ministers seem very anxious to gain time: they may take advantage of events if disastrous to Russia.

Mr. Liston now wishes me to proceed to Wilna as much as the Russian Ambassador does; and in a conference with the Ministers yesterday he intimated the intention. I should hope to leave Constantinople in the *course of next week.*

July 12th.—No particular incident has occurred in the last few days, except one or two cases of supposed plague. I am no very great believer in its present existence, although I wonder that Constantinople, &c., is ever free from putrid disorders, for the bodies of the dead are not covered with more than a foot of earth, and one-half of the area of the cities is occupied by cemeteries, which are the fashionable promenades! But as the Turks believe that peace with Russia is always accompanied by plague, I suspect that the rumour is a political, and not yet a physical, fact.

Mr. Liston yesterday saw the Ministers; my business is in activity.

July 15th, Constantinople.

Yesterday morning I took a solitary ramble through Galata, which is the ancient Genoese suburb and still walled. One tower is remarkable for its size and height. Galata lies at the bottom of the hill of Pera, and on account of the harbour, the water of which flows along its quays, is, or rather was, chiefly inhabited by Frank merchants; but since the war their factories are reduced to almost individual representation. The Genoese sold this quarter to the Turks; this greatly facilitated the capture of Constantinople, as vessels were brought in the night across the neck on rollers, and the weak garrison of Constantinople was thus obliged to weaken its posts along the shattered ramparts to defend itself against a new danger.

Several Turks seeing me alone thought that I had lost my party, and civilly addressed me.

In the evening Mr. Canning embarked to visit Broussa, the ancient Asiatic capital of the Mussulman. Captain Warren remains to go down with the despatches.

This morning, very early, I crossed over to Scutari, and taking one of the horses always ready at the landing-places, rode to a high hill three miles distant, where I commanded a complete view of the canal of the Bosphorus, of the Sea of Marmora the ancient Propontis, of the Black Sea the ancient Palus Mæotis, and the city of Constantinople. Then I descended to the ancient city of Chalcedon, passing a very pretty country-house of the present Sultan's, who has shown great taste in his choice of a site. At Chalcedon I saw a few ruins, sufficing to excite my mind to vivid activity of reflection; I think that the view of the scenes of great actions in the vast drama of human history is chiefly valuable for this effect..

Thence I returned to Scutari through a burial-ground covered by hundreds of thousands of tombs and many thousand cypress trees. Here all decapitated Pachas and others are interred; and my guide showed me the grave of one whom my friend Hussein had decollated.

Hussein himself lies in a grave at no great distance on the other side of the Bosphorus, or Canal, as it is commonly called. I felt as the ancient heroes who consoled themselves in the moment of death with the thought that their destroyers also were doomed to the shades. We, who survive the despoiled and the despoiler, see how all personal and individual good or ill

is generalised, and how its momentary value is absorbed and lost sight of in the mass, in the course of a few short years. Scutari is a large town, but it contains no monument of interest.

About noon I returned, and found here a letter from a foreign minister, in which some measures indicative of a change in the British government were noticed; but, although I had much knowledge of what took place before I quitted England, with regard to Lord W.* and Lord G., I do not feel very confident of arrangements suitable to the times and to my wishes. Perhaps I am too sceptical from disappointment.

17*th*.—Yesterday evening received advice of the war between Russia and France. The Emperor announces it in a letter to the Duke of Richelieu. He says that he had throughout shown the greatest moderation; but since Buonaparte had determined on war, he would oppose energy and constancy.

I could not sleep a moment; my thoughts were in most vehement action. Until I reach the Imperial head-quarters I shall be on tenter-hooks.

This morning went to see the Grand Signor go to the Mosque. The procession was very stately; the preceding led horses finely caparisoned and of noble figure and outline; the dress of the attendants picturesque, and novel to Europeans.

The Grand Signor rode a richly-equipped charger, and passed within a yard of me, bending all the gaze of his eyes upon my person, and, contrary to usage, he even turned his head to continue his observation, upon which I was much complimented by bystanders and others.

* Lord Wellesley and Lord Grey.

He looks pale; has a coal-black beard, and a very intelligent expression. I read his countenance attentively, and think that he merits his character.

The chief of his eunuchs followed—a most complete foil. I think that he is one of the ugliest blacks I ever saw, and certainly the most consequential as he is the most powerful.

Thence we went to the Dervish meeting, where we saw those famous dances which represent Mahomet's ascension to heaven in a whirlwind. The dancers twirled with the grace of the waltzing step and the velocity of a spinning top, and with such dexterity that the flying petticoats never touched although they passed apparently within an inch; nor was the high priest struck who walked incessantly among them. The music was melodious, and on the whole I admired the skill and elegance of the performance. It would be a most popular opera representation in England if we could find people to execute it.

The congregation were very civil, and maintained good places for us, although they themselves experienced great inconvenience from pressure.

18*th*.—The Porte now most cordially agrees to my departure, and charges me with its interests; so I hope to be many miles away in forty-eight hours. But I must to-morrow go to Buiukdereh to take leave of Italinsky, the Capitan Pacha, and others.

My route is first to Schumla to confer with the Grand Vizir; thence to Bucharest to see the General commanding the Russian Danube army; and ultimately to the Imperial Head-quarters. I have transferred all my baggage into a pair of saddle-bags, so that I may go *ventre à terre*, if money, spurs, and zeal can produce that pace.

Warren goes off this night. Our despatches will have a race—odds in my favour.

July 21st, Pera.

As soon as Captain Warren had left the palace to embark, I mounted a Persian horse belonging to Mr. Morier, and rode over to Buiukdereh, where I dined with the Spanish minister, and met General Tavas the Swedish envoy extraordinary.

Before dinner I had gone to pay a farewell visit to the Capitan Pacha, on board his ship: there I remained an hour and a-half, and I left him, I believe, with most favourable impressions not only of my personal good dispositions towards the Ottoman Empire, but of the principles that direct the policy of my Government on this subject. He assured me that he would represent to the Sultan what had passed, and demand for me his entire confidence.

With General Tavas I held a very frank conversation, which he courted. I told him that as Bernadotte had been the agent of Buonaparte originally, three-fourths of the world would doubt the sincerity of his present professions; but that I began to repose more confidence, especially when I reflected that the policy which he now professed was his best interest, since Buonaparte could give him no recompense equal to the advantages which he ensured to his family by becoming a principal instrument in the restoration of a balance of power in Europe. That his example might produce the most beneficial effects, and be of more value than even the military exertion that it might be in the power of Sweden to make.

The candour of my remarks, I have reason to think, augmented the desire of General Tavas to secure my

proselytism; and I am so far disposed to receive a penitent that I beg an order may be given to Egerton to expunge the note in my Russian work, page 85, unfavourable to Bernadotte.

In the evening I went to Mr. Italinsky, whose opinion, I had the satisfaction to find, coincided with mine in every point, and he urged my departure with all expedition.

The next morning, having received a message from the Austrian Internuncio, that "he hoped the state of politics would not interrupt personal amicable relations," I called on him.

In the course of the interview, I took occasion to observe that England politically and morally had always felt disposed to be on most amicable terms with Austria; that we sympathised in all her misfortunes, deplored her losses as our own, and never embraced any system of policy which did not rather tend to promote Austrian interests than to depress them; that we had ever been prepared to make sacrifices for the recovery of the coast of the Adriatic; and that her prosperity was nationally held to be advantageous to ourselves.

I further said that we were a reasonable people, and would make allowance for a dire necessity, trusting that time and events would enable Austria to assume an attitude of independence; but that we should expect proofs of moderation in the present conduct of her operations against Russia; that she must not show herself a zealous partizan of Buonaparte, nor suffer a spirit of vengeance to assist in a further prostration of Europe.

I told him that Russia had been guilty of a fault

when she supported France against Austria and shared in the spoil; but that Russia had preceding griefs, and that even the occupation of the part of Gallicia was but a temporary acquiescence to soothe Buonaparte's jealousy of Russian sincerity; that, however, recriminations were unworthy of great governments and unsuitable to the times; that England did not want Austria to engage herself in a war with France, but to prepare for being the arbitrator of the destinies of the world by expressing a *will* for peace on such conditions as reasonably assured maintainable repose.

Various other topics were brought to bear in support of this view of Austrian duties; and I concluded by expressing a readiness to promote Austria's interests, and engage in her cause whenever I found a disposition to adopt the policy which I now recommended.

Thus I opened the door for communications from Vienna when I am at the Russian head-quarters, and the Internuncio assured me that he would acquaint the Emperor with all that had passed.

Having taken leave of the various ministers and others residing at Buiukdereh, who had all received me as a well-known friend, I returned to Pera at once in the hope of finding my passport; but the Grand Signor had, on Friday evening, lost his only male child, eight months old, and had been in such affliction that his ministers could not approach him on business.

The Reis Effendi promised that no time should be wasted, but said that he could not himself sign a firman, "as my mission was no common case."

This morning I received from the Capitan Pacha a very gracious letter of introduction to the Grand

Vizir at Schumla, a copy of which will accompany this Diary.

I do not know how long the Sultan will devote to sorrow, but I believe that the Capitan Pacha saw him yesterday, and that he came partly on purpose to repeat my conversation. As he has four wives already pregnant, the loss of Prince Murad is not irreparable.

The principal Dragoman having stated this fact before Mrs. Liston, she misunderstood him, and repeated "Four wives petulant!" "*Pregnant*, madam!" said the ambassador. "God bless me!" shrieked her Excellency, "who could have thought that? I am sure petulant was a more reasonable supposition."—"Four wives pregnant!" The phenomenon seemed to press upon her mind the whole evening, and I shall expect shortly to hear of a visit to the Seraglio."

23*rd*.—The delay in obtaining my firman drives me crazy. Mr. Liston has been obliged to make a vehement remonstrance to the Porte. They plead the Grand Signor's affliction and inattention to business. The Mufti has been to urge resignation, and application for the benefit of the Empire. The principal cause of this inattention, as we believe, is apprehension of French displeasure, since the Austrian and French envoys have been making complaints on the subject of my departure. These are ill-timed compliments to my power of doing mischief to their master. I cannot brook further obstacles to my departure, and if I do not receive my passports in twenty-four hours I will put myself in a boat and go to Odessa; although the season is very unfavourable, since the wind daily blows a foul gale.

Yesterday, to dissipate thought a little, I went over to Constantinople, but the bazaars had lost their interest, and my attention was so distrait that I did nothing but run against passengers and fall over dogs and kittens lying in the streets. One of them very nearly inflicted on me a severe punishment for my injurious carelessness.

I returned home very early to be equally restless, and I rose this morning without having closed my eyes; since I had heard, before going to bed, that there had been several actions, that the Russians had been obliged to quit Wilna, and that they had lost many prisoners. I am well aware of French exaggerations, but I am not less fretted by my impatience to reach the theatre of war and share in Russian fortunes.

25*th*.—Yesterday we received newspapers to the 3rd of June, and I had the pleasure of hearing from Jemima by one letter dated the 22nd of May, and from Edward by another, dated the 23rd. Some intervening letters appear to be due by some other conveyance.

'The Courier,' of the 3rd of June, announces that Lords Grenville and Grey had refused to coalesce with Lord Wellesley, and that Lord Moira had consequently been directed to form the administration. Now—bearing in mind what happened before I left England—I think that I justly drew quite a different conclusion from 'The Courier,' in consequence of the stated appointment of Lord Moira.

Lord Moira has acquired the esteem of all parties, and his title to that estimation is of a nature to excite no envious spirit. The highest of the opposition

would not scruple, I should think, to act under him, and I know that Lord Wellesley would not fear his precedence. Who then would be so proper to lead in the Government *quoad* communication with the Prince?

The Grand Signior has consented to my departure. I now only await letters.

July 30th, Schumla.

On Monday morning I left the palace. Mrs. Liston, on taking leave, saying; "although she loved me, she was delighted at my going away, for she every day feared that I should bring her home the plague, or be brought home with a dagger through my body for trespassing on Turkish property." I left amidst a scene of comic disorder, occasioned by the bustle of my departure and by the preparations for Mr. Liston's public visit to the Caimacan. His house was filled with Turkish officers of state and couriers; his palace yard with horses equipped for the ceremony of procession and my journey.

The first hundred miles that I rode presented only a flat, naked country; fifty of them ran along the sea-shore. The next two hundred and twenty miles were over a partially wooded country and through the Balkan mountains. I reached Schumla in sixty-eight hours, thus beating the Tatars of the Porte by several hours: but to ride such a distance, without any kind of repose, over a line of country that in some parts is all but impracticable, in the heat of July, on lame and frequently tired horses, was an exertion beyond the strength of most men. My dragomen, indeed, executed the same undertaking, but only one of them could

pretend to any rivality with me. Allen was so *galled* that he rode exactly like the children's figure of a man making the letter C.

Instead of obtaining repose at Schumla, I was sent for immediately after my arrival to hold a conference with the Grand Vizir, which lasted four hours. It was a most interesting conversation, and I have one or two extraordinary circumstances to repeat hereafter to private and confidential ears.

The Grand Vizir, after the termination of the conference, sent to my quarters twenty dishes; after which I was enabled to retire for rest, and might have slept for two hours if the fleas had not tormented me to the most irritating degree. I was then desired to come, upon a splendidly caparisoned horse, back to the Vizir, and he received me in state. After some ceremonies he waved his hand, the profane withdrew, and then we travelled for two hours over all the affairs of the world. On going away he gave me a very fine sword and a Persian shawl. I am now about again to mount, to the horror even of my Janissary who calculated on this night's rest.

August 1st, Bucharest.

I quitted Schumla with delight, for it was a very hot-bed of plague; and, connecting its physical and military imperfections, I think it ought to be called the head-quarters of barbarism.

As we approached the Danube, a most severe storm of lightning and rain suddenly broke upon us: the first effect was gloriously splendid, but no view compensated for the consequences. I was drenched to the bone before I could dismount, and when I did so,

I fell to the ground in the dirtiest soil that could be selected by a man in a state of decadence. I regretted this fall more than the very serious one which occurred to me as I rode down the Balkan hills during the night at full speed. God only knows how I was preserved, for the animal pitched with the most furious velocity and turned completely over. Neither of us, however, were hurt, and amidst all the perils of this expedition, I have only been a temporary sufferer from a blow in the eye with one of the branches of the trees.

As soon as the storm lulled I continued my progress to Rutschuk, celebrated, like the preceding village Rasgrad, for a memorable siege and the ultimate surrender of several thousand men who had resisted every assault, killing and wounding in one, three thousand Russians and several hundred officers, who, stung by some reproach of General Kamenskoi, threw themselves forward in a body—but to perish.

The entrenchments did not appear to me to oppose any obstacles; they were domineered within pistol shot, had a dry ditch of about six feet deep, and a rugged bank, extremely easy of ascent; but notwithstanding these defects, notwithstanding that the whole town was laid in ashes, the Turks remained unawed; and yielded but to imperative famine, after the Grand Vizir's army, which had been withdrawn from Wallachia, and had been blockaded on an island near Rutschuk, had been their predecessors in a capitulation.

Miserable as I was, I could not help pausing for some time to look at these ruins, consecrated by courage, but otherwise a sad memorial of military ignorance. At the same time, if I commanded against

Turks, I should not run my head against their most insignificant entrenchments, which if despised in practice as in theory, may be again as they have been before, fatal to reputations.

Many an officer, who knows nothing of the Turkish character, would laugh at what may be called mock fortifications in books of science, but the scoffer and rash adventurer will buy a dear experience.

At Rutschuk I was sheltered in the house of an Aga from a second storm; he kindly gave me warm drinks, and on my resolving to embark, he lent me a cloak of state to go down to the boat, which I might have taken to the other side of the Danube, if I had wished it.

A Russian boat carried me over to Giurgevo in half-an-hour. Colonel Kutusow, the commandant, received me as a brother, and lavished on me, as a British officer, every attention and honour.

I was in a comparative elysium; recollections of former scenes and present enjoyments, with the magic aid of military music, huzzas, cheers, &c., soon placed me in a paradise that required not even Mahomet's *sine qua non* for its perfection.

At 12 o'clock at night, after four hours of delightful entertainment, I set out in Colonel Kutusow's own carriage, which he insisted on my taking; although it was to return the same day, that he might have it for his march to Choczim the day after.

Is it possible for me not to love such kind and friendly comrades?

At eight o'clock in the morning, after going at the most furious rate and over the rudest ground, with six horses tackled at each post, I arrived here, and

waited on Admiral Tchichagow, with whom I remained three hours. He then ordered me a handsome quarter in the late French Consul's house, where I have been passing the day alone, that I might write my despatches to Mr. Liston, &c. But, alas! I have made little progress—Morpheus was an irresistible deity; however, considering that I have ridden four hundred and twenty-five miles, rowed six miles on the Danube, and travelled eighty by carriage, in five hours less than five days, including the nine hours passed at Schumla, I must not be reproached for too feeble resistance to the drowsy spell.

This would be a delightful city if the streets were not paved with logs of wood, which unhinge every joint as the carriage proceeds. I was quite racked, and all my saddle wounds re-opened, for it must be remembered that Russian carriages have no springs. The remaining route must be traversed in the same species of vehicle, and I shall probably have to bound upon what they call "timber roads."

The costume of the women is here very gay; and I think that I have noticed one or two fashions which will be admired in England.

That the women are very pretty I need not add; their attention to ornamental dress is a proof that they are accustomed to admiration. I have never read of Wallachia's beauties, but they are no mean rivals of Venus's better known and more vaunted establishments. If I may judge from my dinner to-day, Wallachia must also be an Epicurean abode. I have seldom sat down to a greater variety, or to viands better dressed.

A Mr. Wyburn, from Yorkshire, has just left me to

get a carriage, that I may make some necessary visits to generals, hospodars, &c. He is a very fine young man, greatly accomplished in languages, with good manners.

August 6th, Jassy.

I could not leave Bucharest till the morning of the 3rd; neither my own letters nor those of Admiral Tchichagow for the Emperor were ready earlier.

I had, the day after my arrival, a long conference with Prince Morusis, and Khaleb Effendi the Turkish Plenipotentiary, who told me that if I had come out ten months before, peace would then have been made. Admiral Tchichagow expressed as much.

I dined with the Admiral, and received from him some private and very confidential communications for the Emperor. He made me also promise, if the Emperor asked me, that I would return to him on the Dniester, where he said that he should go in a few days, *as I had assured him of the pacific intentions of the Vizir* and convinced him of the necessity of marching into Poland without loss of time.

He also authorised me to assure Mr. Liston that he would quit Wallachia and Moldavia in most perfect accord with the Turks. Thus I have begun my negotiation very auspiciously—more auspiciously, indeed, than I can here state.

During my short stay at Bucharest I visited all that was worth seeing—went to the houses of the Boyards, to the public walks and drives in the neighbourhood, and had the gratification of enlarging my Russian acquaintance, particularly by the addition of Count Langeron, a very eminent officer, originally in the Austrian army and a ci-devant French noble.

On the 3rd I left Bucharest, which place I think, on the whole, an excellent quarter.

Mr. Wyburn accompanied me. His knowledge of languages chiefly induced me to accept his offer of going as far as Russia in my company; and I have hitherto had no reason to regret the resolution on any account. I had bought a Russian kabitka to hold four, and two of my dragoons at first rode but afterwards got into the litter-cars of the country.

We passed various divisions of the Moldavian army all in the highest order. At Fokchani, the Moldavian frontier town, my kabitka fore-wheel gave way; but the Russian soldiers, under the authority of Count Manteuffel and General Lanskoi, replaced it while I was seeking for another wheel in the town. I was overjoyed to meet these excellent persons again: the cordiality was mutual, and I passed a very agreeable hour or two.

The next morning at daybreak the other fore-wheel, unable to resist the shattering of the night, split into fifty parts, and all but threw the whole party into a large body of water that flowed round a Boyard's domain; but here, happily, we found a little open waggon, which I took *bon-gré mal-gré*. But I must add that eventually the Boyard, finding us English, gave every aid, and a little car into the bargain for the soldiers, as being larger than the post cars. Thus re-equipped, we renewed our course over a dreary country; I think that, for a hundred miles, we did not see one village. Towards the evening, a second Danube thunderstorm broke over our heads. If I had not been one of the dramatis personæ, I should have enjoyed the scene; but the harder it poured the faster

my postilion galloped, and my voiture soon became a mud-cart. I never was more wretched except when we came to the next post-shed, and found all flown, so that we were obliged to proceed with the same horses: but who can say that he has attained the extreme of misery? The third post-station was also abandoned, and our cattle could do no more. By bribing we prevailed on the postilions to feed their horses—that is, to let them graze for two hours—we in the interval lay in our waggon with a cloak over us: but the dew from the heavens and the earth soon thoroughly soaked it, and then we steamed throughout; for our hay, which formed the bed, became like manure. I will not, however, dwell on these troubles but announce our arrival at Jassy this morning, where the commandant assigned me a superb quarter in the house of the principal Boyard, and where I have been entertained with hospitality and costly magnificence, as well as with the sight of a very pretty Moldavian girl, the wife of the Boyard's son. She possesses graces that would adorn any capital. I term her a girl because I do not think she is fifteen years old, but she is very nearly the mother of a second child, if appearances may be trusted.

This city is handsome, and contains many palaces. The room in which I dined this day was a hundred and twenty feet long, and the other apartments are in proportion. The master of the house has just been with me to request my acceptance of a handsome Petersburg post landaulet, observing that my departure from his house in a country cart would be a reproach to him and his countrymen.

I of course declined, but with difficulty escaped a boon that would have much distressed me.

This is a trait that honours Moldavia and my own country, for to an Englishman only would such an offer have been made. Almost every moment, from high and from low, some incident occurs to show the world's estimation of the British character.

August 10th, Kiew, in Russia.

Before I quitted Jassy, I was obliged to pay a visit to Madame La Senatrice, whose husband was gone to Bucharest. She ranks as a very dignified person among the Moldavians. I was introduced to a very agreeable Russian lady and family, whose company I regretted to quit so soon, but duty is no respecter of pleasures.

When I got into my cart, I found canteens full of marasquino, wine, &c., which the good Boyard had deposited, and which, for the sake of those who have to accompany me, I would not remove. We had a very unpleasant night and day; the rain occasionally poured down, and the roads became very bad. At Khotin,* the Russian Engineer-general who commanded gave me some tea which quite refreshed me, and then took me to look at his new improvements in the fortress, which do him credit; but as yet I am not Turk enough to consider a place completely domineered as worth much expense.

Khotin has, however, proved its strength, notwithstanding local defects, by a previous defence against a hundred thousand men for more than a twelvemonth. I must, therefore, respect practice more than theory, and presume that the commander will redeem his pledge which I am conveying to the Emperor, for a year's defence if he has sixteen battalions in garrison.

The general had a very pretty wife and pleasant

* *Khotin* or *Choczim*, on the Dniester.

family, but I could not profit much by their company during the further half-hour that I had to stay at Khotin, as I had to attend to other matters.

The general sent his aide-de-camp with us eight miles to pass us over the Dniester, and clear us from quarantine. He was well mounted, but our carts kept him at full speed. I never, however, thought it possible to arrive with my bones in their sockets.

We soon smoked at the quarantine station clear of all impurities, and proceeded, in a very dark night, to Kamienetz, where I was obliged to knock up the governor and leave Allen with him, who could sustain the journey no longer. The governor, a German, General Haken, received him into his own house, and in the kindest manner promised every protection.

From the governor I went to the civil governor, Mons. S. Priest, who was also in bed; but who got up, and for one hour entertained me with the most confidential account of all that had passed, and what he conceived likely to happen. He also showed me a letter from his brother (the second in command to Prince Bagrathion), dated four days previously. This put me in possession of the real state of affairs in that quarter. In my whole life I never met with a person more engaging, more loyally candid, and whose acquaintance I am more desirous of cultivating.

I know his brother well, and in my History I have recorded my opinion of his conduct at the battle of Friedland. This young man must be, and indeed from all accounts is, equally distinguished. On going away he insisted on my taking with me one of his couriers, who has been extremely useful in ordering horses, &c.

Yesterday we reached Jitomir, after a wretched journey; for the galloping of the horses filled our cart with filth, and the rain poured incessantly. In short, we were experiencing in August all the ills of a winter journey, without due preparation for their encounter. I was ultimately obliged to pay three ducats for a turned great coat, so foul that one of the conditions of purchase was that the lining should be taken out before I received it.

At Jitomir I found my ancient friend, General Sacken, in command of a division. He gave me a most cordial welcome, and I remained two hours; in which I dined, wrote a letter to Mr. Liston, another to Woronzow for the purpose of opening a communication with General Nugent, as Woronzow is opposed to the Austrians, and traced in the chart all the military movements and positions since the commencement of the war; so that I am *au fait* of all that has passed.

I also waited on the Civil Governor whom I had to thank for many civilities. We then resumed our course, and with better weather, artificially obtained—for I had fixed a hood to my voiture—and, aided by better roads, we arrived here to dine.

Kiew is a very large city, has a considerable citadel, and appears to be an important place. The country round is beautiful, and richly cultivated. If Dr. Clarke had been here, I think he would have made one exception to his sweeping clause against the establishments of this empire.

August 14th, Smolensk.

From Kiew we rolled on through a rich country to Tchernigow, where Prince Labanow was governor, who

did the honours of his station, as became it. The next day we dined with a Russian merchant at Starodoub, where we experienced the kindest hospitality. Here we found the Vice-governor of Wilna's wife, an emigrant, who told her woes and of the loss of nine waggons laden with property, in a manner that would have entitled her to a niche in the Stoic school, but it was *d'accord* with the general patriotism. An Englishman was a rare being in this part of the world, but a welcome person and much esteemed, for in that quarter the great flax purchases are made. I enjoyed the curiosity and the honest feelings of these rural merchants greatly. The next day we went to Roslaul, when the Princess Yermolow, the wife of a major-general of that name, gave us an apartment and refreshment although her store was small, she being also an emigrant and a wanderer. This morning we reached Smolensk, having performed a very severe journey, but much mitigated in its severity by the universal kindness we experienced, and latterly by the scenes of a most beautiful country. I was greatly surprised in "la petite Russie" to see as great a population and as richly cultivated land as almost any province in England can produce. I do not think we saw a barren acre for five hundred miles.

At Smolensk I found General Beningsen, Monsr Nowosiltzoff, Prince Galitzin, and many others. No meeting could be more sincerely affectionate.

I dined with Beningsen and others, and have ever since been writing despatches, to which I refer for the more important concerns that have engaged my attention and occupied every moment of my time—even that which Nature wished to devote to her refreshment;

but having embarked my ventures so deep, I cannot suffer myself to be stranded for want of exertion.

To-morrow I go to the armies of Barclay and Bagrathion. God grant that the Emperor may move up from S. Petersburg, for I abhor the idea of retiring from service, and moreover journeying five hundred miles.

Smolensk is a small, walled, uninteresting town. The country round about is wild; but the spot will ever be memorable for the union of Bagrathion's and Barclay's armies, a union that probably saved Russia. Russia has now more than sufficient means to preserve herself and to save the world. She only requires honest direction.

August 27th, S. Petersburg.

My last Diary was dated the 14th. I must refer to public documents for military and political narrative, and only note principal occurrences. Were I to enter into detail of the incidents that have interested me since the 14th, I should have to write a quarto volume without any margin.

On the 15th I despatched H. Wyburn with all speed out of Smolensk, as the enemy were supposed to be approaching. By the active exertions of Prince Galitzin, I was myself equipped for the field, and conveyance was secured for my dragoons. He who had been too proud to serve under General Barclay, and had quitted the service rather than do it, became my servant. On myself, accustomed as I am to Russian kindness, such a trait had a powerful effect; on Wyburn, who was a stranger to Russia, it seemed to operate as enchantment.

After having seen all that the day presented for observation, Prince Galitzin and I thought it our duty to join General Barclay, as Commander-in-chief; and General Beningsen left the town for Wiazma, from considerations which I greatly approved.

The night was dark, and I was very weary, having been up all the preceding night to write despatches, &c., instead of reposing as I had for many nights anticipated; but the road was too bad for confidence in my dragoman coachman, and I was obliged to take the reins. Prince Galitzin was in his own carriage, and trusted to his Russian's skill; but in about half an hour his carriage overturned, and proved a landmark that saved mine.

After proceeding about twenty-five wersts (a werst is three-quarters of an English mile,) we met Barclay's advanced guard: we therefore halted, saw the army file before us to Smolensk, and then joined the General, who received me very graciously, invited me to remain with his army, and to live at his head-quarters, when I was not on visits with friends in detached corps. On the march we dined. In the evening, joined Prince Bagrathion's army on the heights opposite Smolensk, and I flew to the Prince and Woronzow. Quel moment de bonheur! when I embraced these friends. I only could have sacrificed that pleasure to transfer it to the Count, his father, in London.

I stayed in his tent until the march, at midnight, of the Prince's army to join the left. He then gave me a very fine horse to ride, equipped me with a great coat (for the nights are bitterly cold) and a Russian cap in case of a mêlée in battle, that I might be recognised.

As soon as day dawned I accompanied the General

into Smolensk. The action on the right soon commenced. Rode round all the posts with the General; but stopping to have a shoe fixed on at one of the advances, I was by another picquet deemed a French Parliamentaire, and conducted, notwithstanding my remonstrance, to Count Siewers, who for a moment was under the same mistake.

The action soon became more serious. I was here, there, and everywhere.

Towards the evening, however, I had opportunity of being useful by inducing the General to put four battalions in reserve into the streets of the town and by clearing the bridge; as I once had done before in the Polish campaign at Wehlau. My horse was almost knocked up, but nevertheless he went till night proved a friend to man and beast, when he reposed a couple of hours. In order to counteract the intention of General Barclay to quit Smolensk, I was, about ten o'clock at night, obliged to mount again and re-enter the town to take the opinions of General Doctorow and Prince Eugène of Wurtemberg, as to the capability of longer defence. The former said we had done "trop ou trop peu;" the latter engaged, with eight thousand men, to defend the city ten days, and begged of me to assure the General of the necessity of further defence. I had at least a dozen letters from officers of rank on the subject, as they thought I had access to and influence with the Commander-in-chief that no one else had. Woronzow also, from Bagrathion's camp, urged me, and declared that every officer and soldier was ambitious to join the garrison.

The Duke Alexander of Wurtemberg, an excellent officer and most friendly man, with myself, endea-

voured to change the General's resolution. I cited Eylau, the preservation of Königsburg, &c. I proposed a sally with ten thousand men, whilst the Cossacks passed the Dnieper on the right and attacked the enemy's baggage and depôts, greatly exposed: but in vain; the order to retire was given. The *sacred image* of the Virgin was removed, and before daybreak the town was completely evacuated.

I cannot express the indignation that prevailed. The sacrifice of so many brave men; the destruction of an important town unnecessarily; the suspicion that Buonaparte directed Russian counsels; the sight of the holy city in flames, &c., &c., worked strongly on the feelings of the Russians. I even, in this moment of disappointment and wrath, regretted the exertions I had made and the hazards I had run (for I had had my "hair-breadth 'scapes") for objects which the General seemed to determine should be unattainable.

I refer to my despatches for the events of the next day. As for myself, I sat and grumbled with the Duke of Wurtemberg, and repeated the same parts later in the day with Strogonow, being merely a spectator of what was going on until evening, when I went to the batteries on the left by the wish of General Barclay, and very nearly mounted to heaven on a double discharge of artillery.

This day was made memorable to me for my first interview with Platow. Brave brother! Those who have the joy of embracing a father after a long chace may experience what I felt — but no others. He presented me to his people, my old comrades, in terms too flattering for my record. He gave me two Cossacks, horses, &c., and entreated me, on my return

from S. Petersburg, to be more with him than even heretofore; as he would make my residence more agreeable by putting all that he commanded at my disposition.

At night, after seeing the fires of Smolensk augmented by the conflagration of about seven hundred houses, after having ourselves bombarded the town to incommode the enemy, an "order" of the General which the army executed with reluctance, "as the image of the Holy Virgin had so long abode there," (a superstition probably originated by a warrior king, who knew the value of this position,) I proceeded with the General on march: but finding that the column halted, I rode on to see the cause; when I found, at the distance of four wersts, a driver asleep at the top of the hill, which he had feared to descend. He had paused here for two hours, and the men behind him had sunk also into repose, so that the cause of detention was not investigated until my arrival. Baron Brinken, a Courland nobleman, who afterwards became my aide-de-camp, was with me. He will bear witness to my toil for three hours, on account of the difficulty of descent, occasioned by causes stated in my despatches. I verily believe that my vigilance saved a great misfortune to the world. A longer delay would have infallibly enabled the enemy afterwards to execute what he proposed; but in consequence of our onward movement he could not effect it in time. This is an anecdote, however, that I give solely for private notice; for I would not on any account, not for any rank or wealth, ever bring any exertions of my own forward that tended to censure friends and gallant comrades.

To my despatches I must again refer for the proceedings of the day; but as those who are interested about me would wish to know my personal share in this most important action, I must repeat that I was "here, there, and everywhere" until sunset, when I must particularize my being with General Barclay, going forward with him, and at last charging with the column that saved the day, and with it the independence of Europe.

The storm of fire was heavy; but, so help me God and my sword hereafter, I would rather have died with Barclay than have quitted the ground: and I was resolved with him not to quit it in flight.

After the action I went to Strogonow, who commanded the rear-guard of the proposed march:—a little before daybreak we moved.

Head-quarters were in a miserable village; but I found good fare with the Duke of Oldenburg, and enjoyed the luxury of a toilette under the shelter of a pig-stye.

As I did not think there would be a general battle, for reasons stated in my despatch, and as I had urgent motives to communicate with the Emperor, for reasons there also assigned, I took my corporal with me, my dragoon being very ill with fatigue, and, accompanied by Baron Brinken, set out for S. Petersburg. I carried with me a letter of recommendation from General Barclay, and the *earnest entreaty of the whole army to expose the truth to the Emperor.*

28*th.*—We rode to Dorogobouche. Here we found Prince Bagrathion, Woronzow, &c.; and here we parted with them, under the *same* injunctions. With Woronzow I left two dragoons, my horses and cart.

We travelled in the carriages of the post telagas, little four-wheeled carts without any springs. The distance we had then to traverse exceeded eight hundred wersts—six hundred miles.

At Wiazma we were entertained at breakfast by Mr. Birt, an English doctor, who is greatly esteemed by the Russians, and who has, on the present occasion, assisted the wounded with a liberality that will long be recorded in Russia. Took leave of General Beningsen, who proposed to go to Moscow with Novosiltzow.

Stopped about fifty wersts from Wiazma, to call on Count Panim. It was night when we entered the court-yard, and it appeared an enchanted residence; for on a sudden we found ourselves surrounded by a square of palaces with a huge church in the centre.

I never saw a more magnificent establishment, or one which accorded more with my sense of adaptation, especially in the nursery arrangements.

Count Panim received me with great cordiality, and for four hours we maintained a tête-à-tête equally interesting to both, and which put me in possession of more knowledge with regard to the state of the Russian empire than as many years would have done "en particulier."

From Wiazma we had proceeded across the country, which was everywhere very richly cultivated. Indeed, I may say again, that for five hundred wersts I did not see a barren acre.

When we had gained the high Moscow road, about three hundred wersts from S. Petersburg, the Grand Duke Constantine overtook me from the army, entered my room just as I had washed and changed, and made me sit down by him to talk for an hour.

I had not been honoured since the *peace of Tilsit* with His Royal Highness's friendship, but at the rising on this occasion we were a little more intimate.

In the midst of our discourse he spoke of *Napoleon*. I called him *Buonaparte* in my answer. "Whom do you speak of?" he asked. "Why, Sir," I answered, "Buonaparte, Buonaparte!" "I thought," he said, "you meant *Lucien*, not *Napoleon Emperor of France, King of Italy*," &c. "I know, Sir," I replied again, "that you have made his acquaintance under these titles, and I am sure, Sir, you repent it: thank God! I am not in that situation, and I cannot, even *en etiquette*, address him with any term of respect."

The Duke was not offended with my freedom; but, on going away, he whispered something in my ear which proved to me that his attachment to Buonaparte is not much stronger than was Bellingham's to Mr. Perceval.

About a hundred wersts further I met Prince Kutusow, on his way to command the armies, and employ Beningsen, &c. The Prince alighted from his carriage, and we talked under a shed for about an hour: the result of that conversation is noted in my despatch. I was much flattered by his cordial invitation to rejoin the army. Taking me by the hand, he said, "Lose no time to return; I have great need of such a comrade as yourself in the cabinet and in the field."

Brinken, who was with me, accustomed to see these high personages treat all others with dignified reserve, if not with offensive hauteur, could scarcely believe all that he saw on my travels, and is still in a trance of surprise from what has occurred here. On the 27th,

in the evening, I reached S. Petersburg, very much fagged when in my telaga, but not in the least when I got out.

I drove to the Hôtel de l'Europe, where I found my good friend Lord Tyrconnel.

The same evening I wrote despatches, and called on one or two friendly ministers.

The next morning I had a great deal of official business to transact, which, with the despatches for Lord Castlereagh and Lord Cathcart, occupied the whole day and night.

At length Mr. James, a friend of the Spanish Minister, was enabled to set off with them, and I should presume their contents will not be a dead letter in the Russian, British, or French archives.

I have, if successful, gained a greater victory over Buonaparte than if I had preserved fifty Smolensks; nay, driven him beyond the Vistula.

I found S. Petersburg improved in buildings: the Casan Church is finished, and the Admiralty nearly so—two buildings which alone are sufficient to honour a capital.

Most of the families are in the country; but I have seen the Strogonows, the Orloffs, the Galitzins, the Nariskins, &c. I have been an hour with the Empress Elizabeth, and two hours with the Empress-mother, who, on my going away, after many gracious speeches, notwithstanding the *language of truth* which I had thought it my duty to use, and which is so seldom respected by Princes, observed, "General, your coming here has rendered my son and the empire the greatest service. It is an obligation that we owe you, in addition to many former ones. I hope to see

a great deal of you while you stay here." And the Orloffs told me that during the dinner yesterday her expressions of favour were incessant. I rejoice at it, but not altogether from personal motives.

I have now had two nights' tolerable repose, and feel quite refreshed; but not with length of sleep: my repose is comparative. The social hours here are very late; and the necessity of devoting some of the night or early dawn to business renders it impossible for me to be in bed more than four hours.

I begin to be impatient for my departure. I love this capital, but it is not a theatre in which, at the present moment, I desire to form one of the dramatis personæ.

30th.—I still occupy my time in visiting persons whose influence is of consequence to my objects, and friends whose former kindness has never been forgotten.

Yesterday I dined with Mr. Anderson, who gave me a summary of the incidents that had occurred since the declaration of war against England. "*Delirant Reges.*"

The day before yesterday I went into the French Theatre, to see the celebrated Mademoiselle Georges act Phædra. She deserves her fame. The house, however, presented a singular spectacle: empty boxes and benches, notwithstanding her attractions. I was much pleased with this patriotic sacrifice of enjoyment, and only regretted that the sentiment had not been earlier expressed, as the feeling of the public so declared might have influenced the Court.

September 3rd.—No particular incident occurred till last night, when the Emperor arrived; but between

the time of my last memoranda and the present moment I have found day and night too short; for, unfortunately, the necessary intercourse is carried on out of the capital, and half my time is passed in a carriage; however, I trust that my occupation here will long be remembered, as essentially contributing to the welfare of Russia and the triumph of the common cause.

I have been playing a bold and high part on this stage. I have been the organ of the Russian army and nation, and I hope one of the best friends that a sovereign ever had in a foreigner. But supposing that all I now propose succeeds, I shall ever have to regret that the irresolution of British counsels so long kept me in a state of inactivity. Not on my own account do I grieve for this, but as a friend to my country and an Anti-Buonapartist.

Our objects would have been earlier attained, and many painful sacrifices would have been avoided. But destiny, perhaps, forbad that ministers should be sooner delethargized, that the world's aspiring despot should be sooner destroyed. It may appear presumptuous to attach so much importance to my arrival on the Continent, but I can verify my opinion hereafter.

6*th*.—On the 4th Lord Cathcart arrived, just as I was going to the Emperor, who had come the evening before. After some conversation with him rather remarkable and somewhat unexpected, I went to Kaminienstroff, where I had detained the Emperor half an hour; the second *faux-pas* in decorum that I have committed, for my servant, two days before, stopped the Empress in her carriage, that I might give her a letter which he knew I was going to the palace to deliver, and I was obliged to descend from my own

to make an apology, which, however, was most graciously received.

The Emperor, on my being introduced into his cabinet, would not suffer me to kiss his hand, but took me in his arms and kissed me repeatedly.

A most important and very delicate conversation * for two hours and a half then followed, and I went away in high admiration of the Emperor's good sense and love of sincerity.

It is impossible for me to record anything that passed on political subjects. I am bound by duty, honour, and solemn promise. But I may add that, on military subjects, he expressed his perfect approbation of my opinions, and I read to him without scruple my military report. I may add further, that with regard to the war he pledges himself, as a sovereign and as a man, to continue it, although he lost S. Petersburg and Moscow, whilst he can find one other man in his kingdom to stand by him.

It would have been well on many interesting accounts, if I could have immediately transacted all with the Emperor that I wished to do; but Lord Cathcart's arrival tied my tongue on some matters, and diplomatic etiquettes have again, as heretofore, interfered with great national interests to their prejudice.

The next morning I received a note to dine with the Emperor. Before I went I had a long conference with Lord Cathcart, which was so far satisfactory that he assured me he should write to England and report that in every transaction I have acquitted myself with the zeal and propriety to which I lay my pretensions,

* Recorded at length in Sir Robert Wilson's 'Narrative of the Campaign of 1812,' recently published by Mr. Murray.—ED.

and that he embraces all the views which I entertain. He had before told me he had written to England that he "thought it fortunate that I had expressed a wish to reside with the army, as no other man but myself could be there with the same prestige;" and he has more reason now to be satisfied of my power with that army, since the Emperor has expressed himself on that subject in the most decisive manner, and has authorized me to repeat to *him* and to my *Government* whatever opinions or statements I may deem it expedient to communicate. I thought it best to tell the Emperor that I could not serve without such permission, for that I would not act clandestinely. His answer was worthy of a wise Prince, and honourable to myself.

The dinner was magnificent. The Empress-mother, the Empress, the Grand Duchessestrina, the Duchess of Wurtemberg, the Princess Amelia, &c., were present. The party seemed to be made for a particular distinction, as such a meeting is very rare. Before dinner the Emperor and Empress especially addressed themselves to me; and after dinner, in the adjoining room, the Empress first spoke with me for a quarter of an hour, and then the Emperor for a full half-hour. The compliment was so marked—since neither conversed with any other person above a few moments, and even so much only with two or three grandees—that every one of my friends noticed it to me afterwards; and if they had known all circumstances they would have been still more surprised.

From the Emperor's I went for a short time to Count Strogonow's, where Princess Galitzin told me a very "flattering tale" about the Dowager Empress. It must not, however, be supposed that I notice these

honours and compliments from any vain motives. I mark them to contrast what occurred on my second visit here, and as a proof of the position in which I now stand, and from which I may be useful to my country and the cause of Europe.

At night I went to several parties. With Countess Potoski I passed a most agreeable hour, as she is one of the most accomplished women I ever met with: and as Madame de Stael is going away, I joined her party for another hour, and adventured in the presence of such a bel esprit to discuss several topics very vehemently. "Fortune favours the bold;" and I retired in full possession of her favour, and loaded with her encomiums, which I appreciate highly, as she is certainly a very clever woman, and I strongly recommend her to the attentions of my friends in England when she goes there.

This morning I have received a request from the English gentlemen here to preside as chairman at a dinner to be given in commemoration of the battle of Salamanca. I am selected in preference to Lord Cathcart as having served under Lord Wellesley's orders, and although I am not ambitious of a president's duty, I felt that I could not decline; and really my admiration of the talent displayed on that occasion by Lord W. makes me desirous of an opportunity to render my homage to it. The day is not named, but I hope it may be early, as I am most impatient to rejoin the army.

In yesterday's rambles I picked up a beautiful Gobelin picture,* which I am sending to England. I

* Now the property of Robert Belford Wallis Wilson, a minor; son of the late Sir Belford Hinton Wilson, K.C.B., and grandson of Sir Robert Wilson.

think it extremely valuable, though perhaps a little *too natural* for a family drawing-room: but I should not wish it to be parted with unless a very great consideration was offered for it. Had "old Q."* been alive, he would have purchased at any price.

I rather think of putting the Duke of Gloucester in possession of it at the original cost, £25. If I were somewhat richer I would give it to him, for I hate traffic even as a connoisseur.

I also bought two pieces of mosaic, which I am sending to England for Jemima's disposition. It is not fashionable to note the prices of gifts, but I must remark that they are considered here a bargain at £15, the specimen of the temple being very fine work.

9*th*.—On the 7th I dined with the Dowager Empress to meet the Emperor and Imperial family. I experienced the same flattering attentions as had marked my former receptions, and as I sat immediately opposite the Empresses, at a very narrow table, I had opportunity for an unremitting conversation.

Yesterday was incessantly occupied with business until dinner time, when I made myself chaperon to Captain Bowles of the Navy, Macdonald, and several of Lord Cathcart's staff. We nearly mustered a regiment in the several houses to which we went, but all were delighted at the sight of the "*masse en rouge*."

Captain Dawson, a brother of Lord Portarlington's, in Lord Cathcart's staff, is likely, in my opinion, to be the favourite, but the group is very respectable, and I make no doubt will continue popular.

Lord Cathcart's two sons are excellent specimens, but they will not have the same opportunity as the others of going about, as Lord Cathcart employs them

* The Duke of Queensberry.

on his diplomatic business, in which he is most secret and most mysterious to the profane.

This morning I received a message from Princess Amelia to attend her at eight o'clock this evening; a flattering courtesy *which has peculiar interest in these times.*

To obtain Lord Cathcart's powers for a week, I think that I would, from love to the common interest, consent to lead the rest of my life in a solitude, and feast on the pleasure of knowing and seeing the effects of my interference in the State, as they generalised for the advantage of the world.

Every hour endears Russia more and more to me.

I do not know, however, that my popularity may not receive a shock. My Russian work is being translated into Russian, French, and German, so it will be universally read, and no man could ever yet please all the world with a picture. Still, if any are offended, I shall say, "Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas:" what is an Englishman without sincerity? the most despicable abortion in nature.

11*th.*—Went to Princess Amelia's, where I met the Empress and the Duchess of Wurtemberg. Passed a very delightful hour. Afterwards passed over to Princess Galitzin, where Princess Amelia came in and remained till after supper.

Dined with the Emperor; the same attentions, &c.

This day dined with la belle Nariskin, and took Dawson there, who was captivated with the beauty of the Hostess and the horn music of the Grand Veneur.

She is a charming woman, greatly attached to the English and very kind to me; but this is the only visit

I have paid her, as I do not choose to let any persons think that I owe my influence to her favour.

The day was favourable for gaiety, as we had news of a Russian success and of Joseph's capture.

I have been out this evening to chaperon Lord Walpole, but these friendly acts cost me my night's rest, for I have volumes to write before the couriers go off to Constantinople and England.

12*th*.—I have just returned from one of the most interesting and magnificent scenes in the world—the ceremony in the church of Alexander Neufsky on the baptism day of the Emperor. So splendid a sight I never beheld, and the Empress adorned the spectacle with a grace that even Lord Cathcart admitted was unparalleled in his recollection. After the service, Prince Gortschakow read a despatch from Marshal Kutusow, announcing the defeat of Buonaparte in a great battle.* The effect was glorious. The recompences of the Emperor were then proclaimed. Two hundred thousand roubles (two shillings each) to Prince Kutusow, with the rank of Marshal: twenty-five roubles to each private soldier. My dear friend Woronzow is wounded, but did not quit the field. I am more than ever impatient to return, that I may be of use to him, as well as pursue the career of true glory. I am happy to think that I left two of my dragoons with him; they will, I am sure, attend well to him.

I must now dine with the Chancellor at his great banquet to-morrow: I at first refused, but I had notice from a certain high personage to remain, as he wished for another private conference, and, therefore, I fear I shall not be away for two days. God bless all!

* Borodino. See 'Narrative.'—ED.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CASTLEREAGH.

MY LORD, S. Petersburg, September 12th, 1812.

I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a letter which I have delivered to Lord Viscount Cathcart, on my resigning to his Lordship the conduct of the negotiations with which I was charged.

I must also mention to your Lordship that I had an opportunity of communicating to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria that the British Government would not cease to regard the interests of his empire if no other exertions were made in support of France than the necessity of circumstances prescribed; but if any assistance was given beyond what was necessary to avert an immediate ill, the British Government would certainly not promote now or hereafter any objects which a State might have that voluntarily contributed to the establishment of the French power beyond its natural limits.

It does appear to me that every effort should be made to satisfy Austria of her interests being attended to by the allies in case of success; as the active aid of Austria or gross mismanagement can alone prevent the accomplishment of every legitimate object of the independent governments of Europe.

I have the honour to be
Your Lordship's obedient and humble servant,
ROBERT WILSON.

September 27th, Woronowo.

The multiplicity of business and the unremitting activity of my movements has again rendered a regular continuation of my Diary impracticable, and attention to private correspondence impossible.

On the 15th of September, after having dined on the preceding day with the Emperor, and had a long private conference with him subsequently, from which I returned full of proofs of his favour and confidence; having taken leave of the Empress-mother and the *gracious* and *graceful* Empress, &c., the Grand Duke with whom I had a public battle to fight for two hours, Lord Cathcart from whom I parted on the most friendly terms, and all my numerous associates, &c., &c., Lord Tyrconnel and I, my corporal, Lord T.'s servant and a field-jager left S. Petersburg.

Baron Brinken, of the Hussar Guards, whom the Emperor gave me as an aide-de-camp, could not be equipped by his *tailor* in time, and remained to follow me.

My mode of conveyance was improved, for I now had a carriage with hind springs, which broke in some degree the violence of the action upon the wooden roads; but still I was far from personal ease. My mind was, however, quite comfortable, for I felt that my residence had been *eminently* useful at S. Petersburg, and that every succeeding day would more and more exemplify that fact. We travelled unremittingly night and day, without any remarkable incident, until we reached Twer, a hundred and twenty wersts from Moscow, where we heard of the fall and the firing of that city. From thence I despatched a letter to the Emperor, giving him the particulars I had collected, and taking advantage of the moment to urge the *immediate* adoption of a measure* essentially necessary for his interests and the assurance of his empire and Europe.

We then proceeded within fifty wersts from Moscow, rounded the burning city, whose flames fired the whole

* See Appendix to 'Narrative,' No. 9.

sky, keeping about that distance until we reached the road to Wladimir, when we bore upon Kolomna, Kaszira, and Serpoukow, and reached, on the seventh day, the head-quarters at Krasnoi Pakra, thirty-two wersts distant from Moscow, on the Kalouga road. The distance from S. Petersburg, by the road we took, exceeded eleven hundred wersts, and the latter part of the route being cross country, we had great difficulty in procuring horses. The weather added to our inconvenience, as the rain poured for the last three days, but the kindness and zeal of all sorts of people greatly solaced us, and the bearing of the fugitive nobility and commonalty from Moscow, who covered the country, was a noble specimen of patriotism, that made us forget our own disappointments and vexations.

There was not one who did not disdain to mourn over his own particular afflictions, and when I told them of the Emperor's resolution to continue the war without remission whilst a Frenchman remained in arms on Russian territory, many wept for joy, many kissed me (*young and fair as well as old*), and they cheered as others might have done when their losses were repaired and their wanderings had ceased.

The same sentiment animates all classes in this illustrious army. It was their first question, and I was almost suffocated with caresses when I pledged the Emperor's perseverance.

I found Prince Kutusow in the very noble mansion of Count Soltikow, where I obtained an apartment rather more calculated for summer than for autumn, but as good as those of my friends. It would be tedious to recapitulate the personal attentions and kindness which we received; it was a series of the most

liberal and flattering services. Prince Kutusow gave me two of the Emperor's horses to ride, as Count Woronzow had taken mine with him for their protection. And Colonel Keating gave me four others to draw my britchka. Lord Tyrconnel had the good fortune to buy a bargain and at once arrange his establishment, but he had the same offers to supply his needs. The first day was employed in writing to Constantinople, as I resolved to send off Mr. Levy (an Englishman of high character in this army, and who has been with it during the whole war) to Mr. Liston, that he might, in addition to my information by correspondence, give a variety of important details and assurances that will prevent any machinations of Monsieur Andreossi. The next day I was frequently disturbed with reports of the enemy's advance, and by the necessity of looking at the position for battle with General Beningsen; but I persevered in finishing my Turkish despatches and others, including long ones to Lord Viscount Cathcart and to the Emperor direct.

In the evening I was enabled to send off both Mr. Levy and my field-jager; but not to take copies of my letters, and I fear not to write very legible originals except to His Imperial Majesty. Never did any public servant more require a secretary on account of his mass of diversified correspondence. Never did any man more want an amanuensis for the communication of his narratives and opinions. I am only surprised, and so are all my friends, how I get through the volumes as well as I do; for besides despatches, I have a variety of private demi-official letters to write; no less than thirteen to Constantinople, including two French letters to the Capitan Pacha and Vizir.

Yesterday morning, Platow gave me a beautiful Cossack horse, which was very acceptable; but having written to the Emperor that I should ride his horse in the first battle, I have not restored him to his ecuyer as yet.

Last night, as it was found that the provisions for the army came in slowly on account of the roads being spoilt by the incessant rain, Prince Kutusow resolved to march his army on the Kalouga road, whence his supplies come, nine wersts in the course of the day. I therefore resolved to come on with General Beningsen, Count Rostopchin the Governor of Moscow, and Platow, who is a little unwell. Last night General Beningsen stopped in a village one werst from hence, and we proceeded to the Count's house, which is one of the most superb edifices I ever saw. There are two groups of figures from the antique—grooms holding rampant horses—placed upon the Saracen towers at the extremity of his stables, which, for gigantic mould and skilful execution, are worthy of the original Roman design. They are modelled from the Monte Cavallo horses. The whole suite is in the best style of building, and the grounds equal in scenery, from eminence and distribution of wood and water, any residence in the British dominions.

I could not help feeling great pain at seeing this noble establishment wrecked and ruined by the necessity of the times, or refrain from bowing in homage to the superior public virtue and magnanimous philosophy of a man who beholds this additional scene of devastation of his fortune (after having lost at Moscow, in the firing of the city, a mansion worth more than a hundred thousand pounds, including the second library

in the empire and a collection of valuables endeared by their possession for ages in his family) without expressing any other regret than that he was not allowed, as he himself proposed to the Emperor and the Marshals, to put the torch to his own house and then blaze the city systematically. Moscow has, happily for Russia and the world, been consumed by fire; but it was the act of individuals, and not the regulated measure of the grandees of the kingdom, which these illustrious patriots (for the city is their own) desired as a proud monument of their resolution to sacrifice everything to honour and allegiance.

It is now time that I should note some of the military events that occurred after my departure from the army, for the satisfaction of my friends, who may rely on the impartiality and accuracy of my statements.

On military subjects I always write with the view that examination may confirm my records; and Lord Tyrconnel, from hour to hour, sees how faithfully I have adhered to truth in all that concerns Russia, notwithstanding the dissenting Edinburgh Reviewers. He has felt obliged to state this to the Duke of York, and to every person with whom he holds any correspondence.

The Russian army, having changed commanders, continued its retreat on the village of Borodino, between Mojaisk and Gjatsk, on the high Moscow road. It was here reinforced by eighteen thousand effective men under General Milaradowitch, and twenty-one thousand militia, chiefly armed with pikes, under General Markow. The total number of the Russian army, exclusive of militia, amounted to a hundred and five thousand effective men.

The French army amounted to a hundred and thirty

thousand, reinforcements having been drawn to it from the military posts occupied by the enemy.

Buonaparte, contrary to all expectation, as he had omitted the favourable moment for attacking the Russians on the march from Smolensk to repass the Dnieper, presented his army in order of battle on the 24th. It is possible that the appointment of Prince Kutusow had baffled his hopes of peace, and that he felt himself now obliged to effect that by force which he expected to obtain by the influence of fear in the Russian Cabinet. Certain it is that he himself regretted his former neglect of opportunity, and that he said, "I have lost—or rather Junot has lost me—one of the most brilliant occasions of my life."

Prince Bagrathion's army sustained the Russian left, but it was very much advanced in front of the centre and right. A battery of seven guns on a hill covered the advance of Prince Bagrathion's army, which I shall in future call the *second army*.

The action began about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, and was furiously fought on both sides until near dusk, when the enemy possessed himself of the hill and battery, and obliged the second army to retire and take up its position in alignment with the first army, keeping some hills in its front on which batteries were erected. On the morning of the 25th, the French, with all their forces, fell again upon Prince Bagrathion, and, after a desperate resistance, compelled him to retreat.

The reserves of the first army were then under the necessity of moving to the left and front to oppose the enemy, whilst the Russian line threw back its left, so as to form an angle with a part of the centre and

right: at the salient point of this angle was a battery which commanded the position, and which, after the most obstinate conflicts, the enemy carried.*

The Russians had more than six hundred guns in the field, but the principal fire was sustained by about two hundred and sixty-eight pieces.

The Russians lost in the battle of Borodino thirty-six thousand killed and wounded: three generals killed, nine wounded; fifteen hundred officers killed and wounded.

The loss of the French could not but be far greater. Calculations so far could not err; but it now appears from their own correspondence that they estimate their loss at twenty-six generals hors-de-combat, (of whom seven were killed,) and thirty-five thousand men.

Some of this correspondence will reach England, but I have sent the greater part to Constantinople, that the letters may be shown there as authentic documents, to certify my statements on this head, and others full as important if not more so, and from thence be sent round the Mediterranean as incontestable evidence of the loss of the enemy at Borodino and his situation at Moscow.

Prince Kutusow was recommended to attack the enemy the day after the battle, or the next morning; but, by a fatality always attending Russian operations, he determined on retreat, and the enemy was sufficiently active to lose no time in profiting by that intention.

* "The remaining part of this relation of the battle of Borodino was copied into my 'Notes of the Russian Campaign of 1812,' and not replaced in the Journal, by an accident."—*Note by Sir R. W.*

The substance is embodied in the 'Narrative of the French Invasion of Russia in 1812,' by Sir R. Wilson, lately published.—ED.

Prince Kutusow, to the last day but one, however, always declared that he would fight for "Moscow" before and in the city. He then called a council of war, which resolved that the position proposed (five wersts from Moscow), having an inclined plane from its crest to the town, could not be occupied without the assurance of the army being lost in case of the enemy's succeeding in dislodging the Russian line. That the best defence of Moscow was an offensive operation, but, as the enemy had now time to collect his forces, that this measure was not so advisable as it might have been a few hours after the battle of Borodino. That—the greater part of the inhabitants having left Moscow, the greater part of the property having been removed—by firing the city the enemy would only gain a town which, by the unanimous consent of the Sovereign and the people, had no longer any consideration in the Empire. That the Russian grand army ought not to be shattered so much as to be unable to resume offensive operations when the other armies of Russia, destined to act upon the flank and rear communications of the enemy, were at their posts; since the plan of campaign might not only fail, but those armies, calculating upon central aid, might be sacrificed. That the French would be obliged to weaken their army of operation by the occupation of Moscow, whereas the Russian army would daily be acquiring strength. That, in short, the contest was for the Russian Empire, not for Moscow or any other city.

Such arrangements were made as the time admitted. The troops passed through the city; the multitude who had any means of conveyance left the town; and Count Rostopchin, the Governor, assures me that not

less than sixty-three thousand carriages of every description passed the barriers, exclusive of the army carriages.

On the 14th of September the Russian rear-guard commenced its movement through the city, but as the enemy seemed inclined to press, he sent word to Buonaparte, through Murat, that he would defend the streets to the last extremity and fire the town if he was incommoded. Murat sent a civil answer, and the rear-guard filed through; but a thousand workmen of the garrison battalion, employed at the arsenal, having remained too long, were made prisoners.

When Murat entered, the Crown magazines of forage, of wine (not less than thirteen millions of quarts), of brandy, of military stores, and of powder were blazing. As he approached the arsenal, the populace, frantic, rushed upon him and his troops.

The enemy, victorious, hoped and expected to repose in an emporium of riches and luxuriant abundance until that peace was made which Buonaparte promised to his army at Smolensk. But the Russians resolved on inflicting a species of vengeance more disastrous in its consequences than the slaughter of the sword. All the houses of the nobility, all the warehouses of the merchants, all the shops, &c., were fired; and, notwithstanding every effort of the enemy, the conflagration raged and rendered Moscow one flaming pile; so that, as the enemy stated themselves, they occupied only the site where the city stood, and their embarrassments were increased by an erroneous calculation that their needs would be supplied by the resources of Moscow. They invariably represent their difficulties to be such as to render a stay at Moscow impossible. Some speculate upon a march to the

Ukraine, which Buonaparte, as a captain, ought to have occupied after he left Smolensk, and this I thought he would have done; but they seem in utter ignorance of the state of the Russian army, and of the Moldavian army being on march to join General Tormanssow. Yet I hardly think that Buonaparte will now, for military or political reasons, draw off to his right. The success of the operation must be doubtful to him, and it must commence by sacrificing every hope of possessing himself by political influence of his great desideratum—Peace. It must commence by removing every apprehension for S. Petersburg, by evacuating Courland, &c., or by his sacrificing the corps stationed at present on the left of his line.

The calculation of reinforcement to the Russian army by the Council of War has been fully answered. I myself have seen a hundred and forty-four pieces of cannon refused, and eight thousand as fine troops as any in the regular army arrive, with several thousand militia. To-morrow and on the ensuing days of next week fifteen thousand regular infantry, under Prince Labanow, are expected; four thousand Cossacks will be here in eight days; and four thousand five hundred, under Colonel de Witt, from Kiew, have joined General Tormanssow. Two thousand horse given by the province of Toula, and two thousand horses for the remnant of the artillery and cavalry of this army, also given by that province exclusive of its militia contingent, are in our camp; while eighty-four thousand militia are on their march from the neighbouring provinces to be fused into the ranks of the regular army, and will successively arrive in the month of October.

Exclusively of these supplies, an immense army is

forming in the province of Kasan, under the command of General Tolstoy.

With the means of such an empire, with the spirit of such a people, with the base of such an army, can I doubt of Russia's triumph and the establishment of at least one independent State in the North of Europe?

I could express stronger hopes and assign more indisputable reasons for their realization, but I would not risk by indiscretion the chances of their successful issue.

Every day since we have been here, prisoners in parties of fifty, and even of a hundred, have been brought in, chiefly wounded. During the five days that we remained at Krasnoi Pakra, thirteen hundred and forty-two were delivered to the commandant at head-quarters. Of course many more are killed; for such is the inveteracy of the peasants that they buy prisoners of the Cossacks for several roubles to *put them to death.* Two guns have been taken by the peasants; vast quantities of baggage, &c., both going to and from Moscow; much melted silver, which I myself have seen: and some of the guards—of whom two squadrons were taken—told me that they had been obliged to blow up a convoy of sixty powder-waggons, rather than suffer them to be made a prize. In brief, the Spanish guerrilla warfare never was more successful, and certainly was not so formidable to the enemy.

The prisoners, not French, but foreigners, all hold but one language: they all describe themselves as victims to an insatiable ambition, and say that privations of every kind have been the prelude to their loss of liberty.

I am not painting these things *en couleur de rose.* They are most sacredly true; and I have not made one exaggerated representation. The truth is sufficient: it wants no garnish.

I do not mean to say that I have nothing to wish for to render success more rapid; but whatever imperfections may still exist in this army, whatever changes it may be necessary to make, whatever new regulations it may be necessary to enforce, thank God! Buonaparte is in such case that he cannot prevent a signal overthrow. When fate presides, and Russian courage is its instrument, chiefs may wrangle or may err, due precautions may be neglected, but he *must fall.* Nor am I inclined to think that he has more capacity to secure his safety than other men, for the whole of his campaign has been a series of faults with want of sufficient enterprise.

My head-quarters are with Prince Kutusow, but as he is very unequal to much exertion in society, and likes to be retired, I generally take my seat at Beningsen's table, where I have a regular cover at all times; but yesterday I had a very pleasant dinner with the Duke of Wurtemberg: this day I dined with Count Rostopchin and Platow.

As the day was very bitter and raw, and I had still much to write, I contented myself with a walk to the Prince of Oldenburg after dinner, to talk over German affairs, and fight battles over again which it would have been well for Europe if they had never been fought.

29*th.*—Yesterday I rode to the advanced posts, which remained on the river Pakra. The enemy had lodged themselves opposite, but without any disposition to inconvenience our parties.

Dined with the Prince of Oldenburg, wrote a letter to the Emperor, and despatches to Lord Cathcart.

This morning rode to General Milaradowitch. The enemy was making some more demonstrations, but not of consequence. The report of prisoners, &c., induces us to suppose that he is regaining the Mojaisk road to secure his communications between Smolensk and Moscow, (as he finds that he cannot manœuvre us out of our position,) and behind the Oka river, where he would be more at liberty.

The day before yesterday, four thousand very fine new troops joined this army, and were distributed immediately amongst the ranks of the regulars. Yesterday eight hundred high-conditioned horses from Orel arrived, and this day we have official notice of eight thousand four hundred men of Prince Labanow's corps having reached Serpoukow eighty wersts from hence.

The Cossacks continue to obtain great success. Five hundred Frenchmen have been taken by them as the enemy's column retrograded from the Kolomna road; and yesterday fourteen carts, two of which contained gold and silver to the amount of fifteen thousand ducats, were taken on the Podolsk road. All the prisoners concur in stating that the French army is in the state we desire; and it appears that Buonaparte is in some danger in Moscow. Eighty Russians, concealed in the Kremlin, where he is lodged, attempted to fire the building while he was aleep, and he was obliged to fly from the palace at night.

From an intercepted letter, it appears that the French call the battle of Borodino, "La bataille des généraux," thirty-two, whose names we have, being

killed and wounded. Davoust was struck three times.

October 1st, Woronowo.

The day before yesterday, General Milaradowitch attacked and drove back the enemy with some loss. Count Potoski was made prisoner; and, in the night, General Fevrier, with two aides-de-camp, was taken by the Cossacks. The non-commissioned officer who made him prisoner gallantly refused the offer of his purse and watch. He seems to be a person of some consideration for Murat sent immediately to have him exchanged, which was refused.

Yesterday I was almost all day on horseback, with one advanced guard or other. The enemy had pushed a corps forward which I saw was a parade corps, but Prince Kutusow differed in opinion. The position of the mutual outposts was the most extraordinary I had ever seen in war, for they were so interwoven as to present fronts on all points of the compass, and I do not think I ever got so close to an enemy's corps for the purpose of reconnoitring as I did to Prince Poniatowsky's. It was almost the same as being in his camp.

At night the Cossacks attacked and killed two hundred Cuirassiers on a foraging party, and made eighty-five prisoners. I was a friend to three poor brutes (horses), which had been dreadfully wounded, and had been in torture for some hours: at my entreaty General Milaradowitch ordered them to be shot.

This morning the army marched ten wersts. I waited, with Count Rostopchin, to see him fire his

palace and all surrounding premises. It was a magnificent act, executed with feeling, dignity, and philosophy. The motive was pure patriotism.

On the preceding day, seventeen hundred and twenty of his peasants (all on this property) came in a body to request permission to leave their houses, effects, and the bones of their fathers, and retire to the Count's estates in the interior of Russia, which leave was granted. Never was a more affecting procession. But what a country is this Russia! What patriotic virtue! What nobility of spirit! Shame! for shame on Dr. Clarke who has calumniated such a nation. The flames had raged about two hours, when we received advice that the enemy had retreated, but the Count expressed no regret; on the contrary, he conversed quite calmly with me, and waited until we saw some colossal statues of men and horses fall.

Certainly the property destroyed could not be replaced for a hundred thousand pounds. The house and premises rivalled any that we have in England.

The firing of Ephesus won a dishonourable immortality; the firing of Woronowo ought to ensure, and will ensure, a lasting record of Russian patriotism.

At this place I found Allen and my dragoons, who had just come. It appears that since I left him in Turkey he has experienced all the kindness, all the hospitality that I myself have ever received; and in all places he has been served by the master of the house from his own table. He is full of gratitude, and astonishment at such predilection for the English.

This is but a sorry village, although the houses are warm and weatherproof; but the best peasant's cot is a great contrast to the palace of Woronowo.

General Milaradowitch has just sent me a French horse as a present, with saddle, bridle, &c. He seems as generous and as brave as his friend, the ever-to-be-lamented Bagrathion. I now more than ever prize the Circassian dagger he gave me, and which I sent to Hopkinson's with my fine sword and a favourite pistol, by Captain Wyburn.

October 3rd, Tarouza.

The army has continued its movements behind the Pakra. The enemy followed cautiously, and only maintained a distant artillery fire. At night the Cossacks attacked a convoy, made eighty-four prisoners, and possessed themselves of many waggons laden with bread. Amongst the prisoners were seventeen of Romana's corps, who would not escape when he did. I gave them seven pounds amongst them, as they were naked, and sent them to S. Petersburg.

Dined with the Duke of Wurtemberg, to whom I more and more attach myself, as he is full of goodness and military knowledge.

4th.—A great but accidental fire dislodged us all yesterday. The Duke of Oldenburg, however, preserved his kitchen, and I fêted with him.

The cannonade recommenced about noon, and the French cavalry fell into a Cossack ambuscade—five hundred were killed and a hundred and eighty made prisoners. It was a very gallant affair, most ably conducted. We are now in a commanding position, strongly reinforced, and all wears the face of successful promise. Our main army is as numerous as that of the enemy—I believe, indeed, stronger. He is environed by numerous difficulties, and very superior

forces are pressing upon his flanks and rear. We have our supplies; he wants them. We are habituated to climate; he has everything to fear from it.

It is a great moment—an awful epoch! The operations of the last seventeen years, the victories of France, the errors of the continental Powers, are all now gathered together, and await the decision of the fate of ninety thousand men plunged above five hundred miles into the heart of a warlike and powerful nation, whose army has never yet, during this war, suffered actual defeat.

I fear that the enemy will not attack us; but if he attempts to manœuvre on our left, he will find that we can counteract his plans by offensive operations more congenial to the feelings of the army, although not so advantageous to the common cause—*for a little longer.*

Platow is about to vault again into the saddle. There was a little més-entendu, which I have arranged. Twenty-one regiments from the Don will encamp in fifteen days; four are already arrived. Of these twelve thousand he will take four thousand, his own regiment now here, with some artillery and chasseurs, and then Murat will be, within six weeks, without one squadron in the field. I propose to accompany his first enterprise, as it is one of great interest.

Lord Tyrconnel will go the day after to-morrow to Admiral Tchichagow to remain with him. I then shall be left again without an Englishman, but I have asked Lord Cathcart to lend me Captain Dawson, Lord Portarlington's brother and Lord Rosslyn's aide-de-camp. The weather has been very cold for the last two days, but fine, which is a variety. I already begin to regret my departure from Constan-

tinople without my pelisses, but I have desired Mr. Levy to remind the parties concerned, and to bring them.

By Prince Wolkonsky, who carries this letter, I transmit despatches to Lord Cathcart, and my fifth letter to the Emperor. I have much reason to regret that I am not able now to keep copies of any of my correspondence.

The cannonade recommences, and I must go and see my fine fellows and comrades, the Cossacks, work. I am happy to say that from services rendered to their Hetman, I am more popular than ever with them. With regard to the army at large, I remain, as heretofore, the object of every attention.

As I propose to make an experiment during the winter, I want the best pocket portable thermometer sent out. I wish it to be got at Dollond's.

A courier has just arrived, who brings us intelligence of the Austrians having fallen back on Brest Litowsky. I wish they had done it before the Light Dragoon regiment of O'Reilly was surprised and destroyed.

Austria is a point to which I direct great attention, and a subject which keeps me much employed; but time must discover the effect of my interference.

General Barclay quits the army. We lose a brave executive officer, who greatly distinguished himself at Borodino; but his departure will do good by removing a spirit of dissension that was injurious to the general interests.

I do not enter into the subject of the merit or demerit of the rival chiefs in this Diary. This separation, whether one or the other went away, could not fail of doing good.

If General Beningsen ever fulfils his promise to me, I think I may venture to say that his continuance here will prove most advantageous.

White bread is six shillings a loaf; sugar, ten shillings a lb.; butter not to be had, and very little of anything in camp but meat and black biscuit; yet all are well and gay, and, by some means or another, we have daily a comparative banquet.

For want of my people from Woronzow, and my canteens from Constantinople, I cannot yet boast of a good breakfast or tea establishment; but I mean to be *fort* in both, and Prince Galitzin yesterday gave me a cow to assist my good intentions.

I wish Keate* to be told, that the day before yesterday I saw a Cossack have his arm extracted from the shoulder joint, who had ridden twenty miles after having been struck by a cannon shot. He never spoke during the operation, which was performed by Dr. Wiley in less than four minutes; but he talked afterwards quite composedly. The next morning he drank tea, walked about his room, and then got into a cart, which carried him fourteen miles. He is now proceeding several hundred miles to the Don, and is, according to the last report, doing very well. This operation of extracting the arm is a frequent operation here, and seldom fails of cure.

October 9th, Tarouza. Imperial Head-quarters.

Soon after I had sent away my last letter, I mounted my horse to see an action at the advanced posts. Buonaparte, it was said, had just arrived, and Murat

* The celebrated surgeon. A personal friend, for whom Sir Robert Wilson entertained the highest regard.

commanded in person; but, notwithstanding various attempts of resolute character on every point of the line, the Russians not only maintained their ground but drove the enemy back three wersts.

Had I been able to procure two guns at the instant I wanted them I should have greatly aided the carnage, but they came too late. As I rode up amongst the chasseurs, to reconnoitre the spot for this artillery, a chasseur of the Russians, mistaking me for a French General, levelled at me; but General Ouwarrow and Count Osterman, who were in the rear, saw it, and called out to him to save the shot: the enemy's, however, passed thick enough, but respected man and horse. It was a most interesting, and in its consequences will prove a most important, combat.

The loss of the enemy was very considerable: they left four caissons on the ground, and a wood and plain covered with dead. As I have said in my official despatch, artillery, cavalry, and infantry all proved that they possessed a warrantable confidence of superiority.

The next morning Buonaparte sent a letter to request permission for an aide-de-camp-general to come to head-quarters, and speak on important matters with Marshal Kutusow. The Marshal had answered that he himself would meet him beyond the advanced posts, before I knew of his flag of truce.

However, upon my *strong representations* against the intercourse, and my statement of the mischievous consequences of such a proceeding—such an empressement to enter into negotiations with the enemy—in which representations I was supported by the Duke of Wurtemberg and Prince Oldenburg whom I brought to the

Marshal for that purpose, the Marshal consented to send Prince Wolkonsky to the advanced posts.

The Prince went as aide-de-camp-general of the Emperor, and met General Lauriston, who told him that he had important matters to communicate to the Marshal in person: it was then settled that General Lauriston should at night see the Marshal in his own head-quarters.

The strictest forms of etiquette were preserved, and everything would have proved a dignified sense of superiority if General Beningsen had not indiscreetly gone the same day to the advanced posts and held a conversation with Murat, who came when he was told that General Beningsen was there. The conversation was very insignificant, the principal remark of Murat being, "Ce n'est pas un climat pour un Roi de Naples:" but the appearance was pernicious, and any unnecessary address of these invaders *en Souverain, une bassesse volontaire*, which I think will be marked by the Emperor's displeasure.

At night Marshal Kutusow wished the Duke of Wurtemberg and myself to be present when Lauriston entered, that he might let him see how he was *entouré en conseil.*

After mutual salutations from the Marshal, that Lauriston might not be ignorant who we were, we retired; but waited very near, and saw that the conversation was very animated on the part of the Marshal by his gestures.

In half an hour Prince Wolkonsky was called in, and in a quarter of an hour afterwards, General Lauriston came out with a very discontented air, and spoke in such a manner that every person was satisfied

that he had been disappointed. The Marshal, on our entering, told us what had passed.

General Lauriston had complained, first, of the barbarity of the Russians towards the French. The Marshal answered, that he could not civilize a nation in three months who regarded the enemy as a marauding force of Tartars under a Ginghis Khan.

Lauriston said, "But at least there is some difference." "In fact," said the Marshal, "there may be, but none in the eyes of the people: I can only answer for my own troops." General Lauriston had no complaint to make against them. He then adverted to an armistice, saying that "Nature herself would, in a short time, oblige it." The Marshal said he had no authority on that head.

General Lauriston soon again returned to the subject of an armistice, and said, "You must not think we wish it because our affairs are desperate. Nos deux armées sont à peu près égales. You are nearer your supplies and reinforcements than we are, but we also have reinforcements. Perhaps you have heard that our affairs are disastrous in Spain?" "I have," said the Marshal, "from Sir Robert Wilson, whom you saw near me, and with whom I have daily interviews." "Oh!" said the General, "Wilson may have reasons to exaggerate his statements." "None," said the Marshal; "he tells me things as they are, with all the naïveté of candour." Lauriston resumed: "We have, indeed, received a check by the bétise of Marshal Marmont, and Madrid, en attendant, is occupied by the English; but they will soon be driven out, and everything will be restored in that country by the numerous forces marching there." He then denied the

burning of Moscow by the French, observing, "It is so inconsistent with the French character, that if we take London we shall not fire that city."

The burden of his tale was an armistice; and I presume that this, and a convention for the retreat of the army,* were the subjects to which Buonaparte alluded in his letter to the Marshal, in that paragraph in which he says, "Ajoutez foi à tout ce qu'il dira sur des affaires très importantes."

As I was returning home at midnight, with the Duke of Oldenburg, in a droska, we were overset. The droska fell upon my right leg, and remained some minutes, until the Duke, who was unhurt, extricated himself, and raised it, with the help of Captain Fanshaw his aide-de-camp. I could not get up alone, and when I did rise I was in great pain, and very sick; but I proceeded in the droska to my village, and remained the rest of the night in darkness and in misery, as we had no candles, and no means of relief. The next morning Prince Wolkonsky came to my quarters soon after day-break, and we gave him some hot tea, and my letters for Lord Cathcart and the Emperor.

The surgeon soon after arrived and dressed my leg, which was greatly scraped in the skin, and cut on the right and left of the ankle pretty deep, and very much swollen.

In the evening, understanding that Murat complained of being fired at *as a breach of convention*, I

* These matters will be explained hereafter more in detail. I dare not write all now; but I have rendered most important service, and prevented a successful negotiation for the retreat of the army.

See 'Narrative of the French Invasion of Russia,' by Sir R. Wilson. —Ed.

went to the Marshal to ask an explanation officially. The Marshal gave me his honour that there was *no convention*, and he then denied also the report of any negotiation with the enemy, admitting that he had no power whatever to enter into it, or to make an armistice. At night I went over to another quarter, a werst off, and lodged in an unfinished house, with the Duke of Wurtemberg. The Duke of Oldenburg took the next apartment. We changed for the worse in regard to warmth, but for the better as to light and cleanliness.

The next day I went over to the head-quarters, which had fallen back a little. Thence I went in a droska to General Milaradowitch, when I heard various amusing anecdotes.

Murat had come to the advanced posts originally to meet General Beningsen, who had the indiscretion to court an interview. From that time he had occasionally presented himself to General Milaradowitch who commands our advanced posts, and who is an élève of Suwarrow and brother soldier of the ever-to-be-lamented Bagrathion.

Milaradowitch in one interview said, "I wish that I could see a real charge of cavalry: our officers and men wish it much, especially in such a fine plain; but whenever we move on your squadrons seek support from their infantry or artillery." Murat was silent.

Again Milaradowitch said, "It is really an outrage to let so many of your dead remain unburied, and your wounded lie in that wood. I will give you permission to come within my posts and remove them."

Murat owned that on the 4th the Russians had an indisputable pretension to the honour of the day.

There never was a man better qualified to treat with Murat than Milaradowitch. His manner, the tone of his voice, his gestures, &c., render him superior to Murat in fanfaronade, while his singular courage, and the unbounded confidence of his soldiers, secure him every respect from the enemy.

General Korf, who is a most excellent man, with a fund of dry humour, on the same day met General Amande at the advanced posts. The conversation soon turned on peace. General Amande observed, "We are really quite tired of this war: give us passports and we will depart." "Oh! no, General," said Korf, "you came without being invited; when you go away you must take French leave." "Ah!" said General Amande, "but it is really a pity that two nations who esteem each other should be carrying on a war of extermination: we will make our excuses for having intruded, and shake hands upon our respective frontiers." "Yes," replied the Russian, "we believe that you have lately learnt to esteem us, but would you continue to do so if we suffered you to escape with arms in your hands?" "Parbleu!" sighed Monsieur Amande, "I see that there is no talking to you about peace now, and that we shall not be able to make it."

The language of Murat and General Amande is the universal language of all who communicate with us, or who are taken. It is the content of every letter found in the pockets of the enemy, and I sent one this day to the Spanish Ambassador, addressed to the Prince of Eckmuhl, from an officer in the Spanish corps, in which he requests permission to go into the 57th regiment, as he is satisfied that his honour will be ruined by the desertion of his men on the first occasion.

Discontent, and need, and apprehension are hourly augmenting the difficulties of Buonaparte; these, added to the daily multiplying forces of the Russians, and the approaching rudeness of the climate, will, I think, very soon render his case desperate. We wish he would attack our camp, but fear that he will not. His army entered Moscow eighty-two thousand effective men; since then he has lost several thousand killed, and I have seen several thousand prisoners.

The Russian army now here stood this day effective a hundred and three thousand men: about five thousand marched this day upon different services; but twenty more Cossack regiments, each five hundred strong at least, are to be in camp within eight days; six have arrived, and to-morrow two thousand five hundred more from Toula will join. Such is the strength of the army, that the Marshal sent back fifteen thousand well-armed infantry to Wladimir, although the corps had come within fifty wersts of us. Eight hundred of the finest re-mount horses have been distributed, exclusive of two thousand given by the nobles of Toula; and the Russians, who at first were deficient in this arm, now ride lords of the field.

Besides this force, Admiral Tchichagow's, Wittgenstein's, &c., are now bearing upon the enemy's rear, to concentrate near Borisow. Sixty thousand militia, with some regulars and corps of Cossacks, occupy all the roads leading to Moscow, and daily destroy escorts, convoys, &c. Yesterday Captain Finkein sent in a Hanoverian colonel, two officers, and two hundred men, whom he took within six wersts of Moscow. He had, as the Hanoverian colonel admitted, killed four hundred men, spiked six 12-pounders, and blown up

eighteen powder-waggons, although three French regiments of cavalry were in sight. This officer has three times been in Moscow to take or kill Buonaparte; but he is not the only one who has sworn to avenge his country by that destroyer's life-blood. I hope, however, he will not suffer in such a way that any man may have to regret the mode of his exit.

Yesterday two hundred French cuirassier foragers were made prisoners. A general came with a flag of truce to remonstrate against the cruelty of the Cossacks in falling upon "poor men only going in search of a little hay!" Sweet innocents! How tender! how humane! how considerate these myrmidons have become!

I am sorry to say that my second expedition in droska was almost as grievous as my first. I lost, by some negligence of an abstract cogitation *en chemin*, my bourka, that was the pride of my wardrobe, the envy of the army, which I calculated upon for a dry skin in autumn rains, for comfort in the severest frost. I have, however, offered a hundred roubles (£10 English) to recover it, and hope to succeed, as the loss and offer are announced in General Orders, which is a very unusual compliment in Russian service.

This day, in obedience to Dr. Wiley's strict commands, who was very angry at my going out yesterday and the day before, and in compliance (to own the real truth) with necessity, I remained at home, and wrote despatches to Mr. Liston and Admiral Tchichagow, the latter of which Lord Tyrconnel is to carry.

My leg is so swollen, and the wound so angry, that I cannot put my foot to the ground. I fear it will be long before the ancle will recover its strength. How-

ever I *must* and *will* ride, if there is anything to do. The pain is acute, but I am more anxious about the final restoration of the limb to its power than any immediate relief.

My despatches to Mr. Liston will have an important effect at Constantinople and in the Mediterranean. This communication alone renders my position here of the greatest value to the British interests; but I may, without presumption, say, that I have every day since my arrival rendered essential service to my country, to the Emperor, and to the common cause.

My interference with respect to the proposed degradation of the Marshal by his visit to the advanced posts has received general approbation; and, with just confidence, I am considered as one who will guard the Emperor's honour and interests as well as those with which I am charged as a British envoy, from insult or duplicity.

9th.—Lord Tyrconnel left me this morning for Admiral Tchichagow. He is a great personal loss, but public duty obliged me to send him.

My leg improved a little, and therefore I thought I might venture to get as far as General Milaradowitch. The general had, the day before, seen Murat, who asked him personally to let his cavalry forage to the right and left. Milaradowitch answered, "Why, would you wish to deprive us of the pleasure of taking your finest cavaliers of France 'comme des poules?'" "Oh! then I shall take my measures: I shall march my foraging columns with infantry and artillery on the flanks." "It is exactly what I wish, that I may order my regiments to give them the rencontre."

Murat galloped off, and instead of his marching the

columns to protect his foragers, the Cossacks took last night forty-three cuirassiers and carabineers, and fifty-three this morning.

The Marshal, on my return, wished me to dine with him, but I was afraid of his luxuries; I therefore went to the Duke of Oldenburg, as he lives more simply and allows my vinegar bottle to be on table, although a mistake now and then gives him a wry face and a pain in his stomach.

At my quarters I found one of my dragoons and one of my Cossacks; the others are marching under escort with my horses from Woronzow. They had been taken up about a hundred wersts off upon suspicion of being French who had seduced two Cossacks. Some general, known to me, released them. There is no rambling about now; all the peasantry are armed, and they are most terrible inquisitors.

Five thousand men marched from camp this day in different detachments. Captain Finkein had one with six hundred men. He will render the State much service, or I am mistaken.

My calculation was erroneous about my leg. It swelled considerably in consequence of my ride, but the swelling is now going down fast. The wounds are just as they ought to be, thanks to the vinegar-and-water system.

October 13th, Tarouza.

Since the departure of Lord Tyrconnel more than a thousand prisoners have been sent in, chiefly cavalry with their horses; but these are too bad for the Emperor's service.

The day before yesterday I rode to the French posts,

passed within half pistol shot, accompanied by my dragoon and Colonel Potemkin, that I might introduce myself and dragoon (who was at the battle of Borodino) to the knowledge of our friends in the enemy's army.

As I was resolved that they should be under no mistake, I persuaded Potemkin to make some excuse and speak to a French officer whom we saw by one of the videttes, under some pretext. He did so, and in the course of conversation let him know who I was.

A party of cavalry turned out from a neighbouring wood, and then we leisurely fell back. Soon afterwards Murat came and wished to speak to General Korf, but Korf sent him to Coventry and would have no more communication with him.

Dispatched another courier to Constantinople, on the arrival of Colonel Michaud, with the Emperor's resolution to continue the war after he had known of the fall of Moscow.

Sent also to let the Austrians know that no armistice had been or would be concluded with the enemy, although they industriously circulated that report.

Indeed Marshal Kutusow told me that he had said explicitly to Lauriston, "If I were to give you an armistice for six days, and six months afterwards a peace was made disagreeable to the Empire, I should be considered the cause, and ma postérité serait maudite. This is no ordinary war, Sir! It must have decisive results. We would not treat for peace if we were driven even beyond the Wolga." This most important anecdote the Marshal omitted to tell before, which I much regret.

The bearded warriors of the Don (being chiefly

veterans and fathers of families, who are distinguished by bearded honours) continue to arrive, and *General Winter*, who is our most powerful ally, has already presented the torrents of his advanced guard.

Yesterday I rode to dine with Strogonow. The camp, which is a glorious spectacle, being now arranged in order of battle, was particularly cheerful, as the capture of Madrid was being universally celebrated.

On my return Platow loaded me with pears, Don wine better in my opinion than Champagne, and a fine dried sturgeon to eat like smoked salmon. I value this present the more as it enables me to distribute "the goods the gods provide."

My leg is still a little pillar, with three wounds in it; but notwithstanding doctor's orders and anger and a little pain, I go about in droska, and occasionally mount a horse for half an hour, confiding in the vinegar-and-water system and an assurance that I only double the time of cure by motion. My cavalier appearance is, indeed, not very military—a leg without a boot, and a foot without a stirrup.

I was yesterday acting the part of a pacificator between the Marshal and General Beningsen, but peace can only be temporary. This army has not yet moved, but I hope we shall march a little to our left to menace the Smolensk road. Borowsk is our proper point to bear upon.

While I was dining with Platow and a great party of general officers the day before yesterday, Platow received a letter from one of the Tartar regiments informing him that they had made prize of a considerable sum of gold and silver which had been melted by the enemy from church ornaments; but that they placed

their prize at his disposal, as they thought it a sacrilege to take it from their country.

"Le beau sentiment" is not extinguished here, however rare in these times, and I could write a many-paged book of verified anecdotes that would shame the niggardliness of other more civilized countries.

It is true the light troops have no want of unrighteous gold; they have taken so many horses, watches, Louis-d'ors, &c., that one Cossack regiment has divided booty that gives every man eighty-four pounds sterling.

There is now a noble prize awaiting them. Three hundred and fifty waggons, laden with Buonaparte's plunder, was proceeding under the escort of four regiments of cavalry and two battalions of infantry on the Mojaisk road.

Three hundred Cossacks charged at night, killed all the horses of the waggons, rendered the column immovable, and have given advice to three thousand men under the command of General Dorokow, who has marched to profit by the occasion.

Received a letter from Lord Tyrconnel, then near Kiew. He informs me that Admiral Tchichagow was at Sloutsk on the 21st, and that the Austrians had retired with the greatest precipitation, leaving waggons, ammunition, &c. No cause was known for their haste.

Tyrconnel was very well on the 9th of October, and I beg that this may be noted to his mother, the Countess Tyrconnel, who lives in George-street, Portman-square.

The Don regiments continue to pour in. Such a reinforcement of cavalry was perhaps never equalled, and Tyrconnel writes me word that there are

nineteen regiments at Pultawa only waiting orders to march.

The Don regiments are welcome guests *sous tous les rapports.* They bring us the most agreeable wines, sturgeon, caviare, and large barrels of red and white grapes, of which Platow has given me a superabundant share.

At three o'clock I remount my horse. General Beningsen is already gone to the advanced guard; but I am now prudent enough to give my leg all the repose I can, and unremittingly to mortify the appetite that I may indulge necessary activity.

17*th.*—Until yesterday I was combating momentarily against very severe pain. My wounds in the leg burned like the effect of hot sealing wax, but the goodness of system triumphed, and the bad flesh having sloughed off, I am in rapid progress towards recovery.

Yesterday evening, an attack having been ordered to commence as this morning, I went to the Cossack advanced posts upon the right of the line to meet General Beningsen. About midnight I received advice from him that the Marshal had countermanded the attack until to-morrow morning, although the troops were all under arms.

A habit-maker may very properly try his —— to see whether they will fit, but a general should not be such a botch tailor as to make experiments. I wish this may not prove a costly one. If we succeed without the secret having transpired we ought to erect another grateful altar to the protecting God of Russia.

I passed, notwithstanding, a delightful night. The

Cossack chiefs fêted me with all their luxuries, amusements, honours, &c. The enemy were not distant more than six hundred yards, and grouped to hear the music. The singers gave me their famous boat song, and the enemy having recognized my vessel, the answer to the hail was, "She is charged with Spanish victories."

Soon after day-break I rode along the line of videttes, and Murat made his appearance. We looked at each other for a quarter of an hour, and both dismounted to have a fairer gaze. He then sent an officer forward, but I desired Captain Fanshaw, who was with me, to request that he would return to his line.

Two days before I had sent one of my dragoons to a circle of French and Austrian officers, whilst I passed slowly by with the Prince of Oldenburg, that they might see and communicate to others that we were here. They were very much struck with his appearance, and made many inquiries, which were suitably answered. The dragoon was very well mounted, is an excellent horseman and a good-looking man, so that the tout-ensemble was favourable.

18*th*.—Yesterday, soon after day-break, the action commenced as was proposed; the enemy were completely surprised; Murat had but just time to mount his horse. All his silver, equipage, bed, &c., even his plume, were taken. I do not note the military details, as I presume that my report will be in the *Gazette*.

Only one Russian corps, General Bagawouth's, was in fact seriously engaged; and with that and the Cossacks I happened to be at the most critical moment of their service, especially when the latter

charged the enemy's cuirassiers and carabineers, which was done in the most able and gallant manner.

The French were in the same predicament as we were in on the famous 18th of May, 1794, but more embarrassed, as their force was treble the amount of ours.

Had the Marshal but seconded General Beningsen's attack with the vigour that suited the occasion far greater advantage might have been obtained; but the result has militarily, politically, and morally, been very favourable to the Russian interests.

The French camps were quite disgusting. They were full of dead horses, many of which were prepared as butchers' meat. Elliott, General Clarke's nephew, assures me that for the last twelve days he has been living, with the rest of Murat's army, on horse-flesh, without salt, and without any bread. He says that Buonaparte was to have been in camp the same day, and that it was believed he meant again to offer peace, and if peace was refused to force his way to the Ukraine, as retreat by the road by which he entered was impracticable, all the provisions having been consumed.

The event of yesterday will probably influence him to change his plan, and to seek safety rather by flight than by force. He may, perhaps, by the sacrifice of all his artillery, baggage, &c., reach the Dwina by the route of Witepsk or Polotsk, but he *ought not* to attempt it, and I think he *will not*, since a new arrangement must be made for the command of this army which will probably place it in more activity.

I feel confident that in another fortnight Moscow will be evacuated, and the enemy in that desperate

condition which leaves him no alternative but the "una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem," or surrender at discretion. As his army is not national, the greater part will probably prefer the "crooking of the knees."

I give this opinion subject to the circumstance of our doing our duty in the councils. If the event does not occur as I anticipate we abuse the opportunity which fortune presents.

As Elliott was plundered of all his money, &c., I gave him a hundred roubles, had his wounds dressed, and filled his vacant interior with a good dinner, breakfast, &c.

I knew General Clarke had been very civil to many English prisoners, and perceive that he is a friend of Lord Hutchinson's. I was therefore moved to show kindness to Elliott, as well on public as on private grounds.

It was singular that he was with Murat when we reconnoitred each other the day before, and that the officer who came forward to speak should have been killed. He tells me that Murat was very anxious for a conversation.

The Cossacks are so rich that they now sell the most valuable articles for a little gold, as that alone is portable in addition to their stock. They must have gained yesterday an immense booty. I only could pick up a few amusing letters, chiefly from the frail fair.

Having been eighteen hours on horseback, I was considerably uneasy in my leg; but this morning the swelling has subsided, and the wounds are so rapidly healing that I hope in another week to wear a boot.

My correspondence with various quarters will keep me quiet for another day, and that repose will quite establish recovery, without further subjection to incidental use or *abuse* by exercise.

I am not, however, so totally to blame, as I am without any assistance here, and must be everywhere myself to see with my own eyes, for I can only trust my credit to them. Since I left S. Petersburg I have not had one line from Lord Cathcart, or any other person. This is a species of banishment that diminishes very much the pleasure of my employment, and is very prejudicial to the service.

More prisoners are momentarily brought in. Above fifteen hundred are now before our eyes, in wretched condition, with teeth chattering, &c. The peasants have bought numbers from the Cossacks, at two silver roubles a head, to kill them.

General Baltier is taken. He was chief of Poniatowski's artillery. Another general is killed. Five guns and two standards are among the trophies, but the most consolatory is the rescue of three hundred wounded Russians, in a church which the enemy had just fired.

This town is a complete heap of ruins. It is impossible to see such devastation and not find some excuse for the vengeance of the Russians.

October 27th, Kougy, 40 wersts from Kaluga.

On the 21st, a colonel came from Murat to seek the body of General Dery,* who was killed, and who was another of those with Murat when we reconnoitred each other. He also brought a letter from General

* Aide-de-camp to Murat.

Berthier, who, in the name of the Emperor, *soi disant*, expressed his surprise "that no answer had been received from S. Petersburg to his demand for a change in the character of the war, and the restoration of order in the country." Baron Arnsted wrote the answer, which was extremely well expressed; and he concluded by observing, "That no person dared to speak to the exasperated inhabitants on the subject of moderation." I was, however, much vexed at the colonel being received at all. For many political and military reasons he ought not to have been suffered to pass the advanced posts; and the event proved that his mission was a pretext to ascertain the state of our army.

On the 22nd, I marched with a corps of General Doctorow's, comprised of twelve thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and eighty cannon, to effect a coup-de-main against a corps of ten thousand French, supposed to be at Fominskoi, distant thirty wersts.

When we came within seven wersts, I saw that the attempt was madly rash: the enemy's corps was not posted in any town, consequently could resist and retreat; the grand army was known to be at Woronowo, distant only twenty wersts, the day before; and all reasonable conjecture induced the assurance that Buonaparte was on the alert, and moving to his right that he might gain our left.

I believe all were of my opinion who had any judgment; but the fear of a clamour from the thoughtless would have induced perseverance, had I not, without any phrase, at the council of war expressed my conviction that success was impracticable, and disaster probable. I prevailed so far as to obtain a delay for better information.

At dusk we received full assurance that Buonaparte, having evacuated Moscow, was with his guards and Davoust's corps only four wersts from Fominskoi, and that Borowsk, a town ten wersts in rear of our left, was in the possession of his advanced guard.

I had now the credit of forethought and prudence; and many admitted to me that they had seen the same dangers, but that I was the only man who could have prevented the misfortune; for no man could insinuate anything against my inclination to engage the enemy. They said, too, that my interference was considered as a greater proof of the honest attachment which I felt to the Russians; whereas any expression of doubt on their part was liable to, and did indeed incur, misrepresentation.

Doctorow sent to the Marshal for further reinforcements, and immediately began his march on Malo-Jaroslavets, distant thirty wersts.

We made every possible effort, but the enemy from Borowsk had lodged themselves before our arrival.*

As my despatches to Lord Cathcart—which will, I presume, be published—contain all the military narrative of the transactions, I shall only say that I had the honour to open the ball, and plant the first guns that saved the town, for the enemy were pouring in. Our corps was in the greatest confusion, ignorant of the Kalouga-road, and having to defile with all our incumbrances round the town to gain it. It was a

* *Extract from Private Letter of Sir R. W.*

"October 27, 1812.

"We have had interesting scenes here lately. By the Journal and my Despatches you will know all particulars, but beware that this Journal is read only by very private friends, and communicated, indeed, *only to the select* whom Edward knows." (*Viz.* to the Duke of Gloucester, and Lords Hutchinson and Grey.—Ed.)

most critical moment, and the hour so saved enabled the resistance which was afterwards so obstinately made. I pushed the guns into short grape distance. After the first four rounds the enemy's columns broke, and *saive qui peut* was the general effort up and down the hill. The slaughter must have been considerable. This, in some measure, indemnified me for the disappointment I had experienced in the first combat, when, after my return from S. Petersburg, the occasion was as fine, but lost from want of cannon being at hand. The Russians and the enemy fought desperately.

The town of Aspern was not more heroically contended for. But whenever the enemy appeared out of the town the Russians gained an easy victory, even over the Guards, who latterly were engaged and whom Buonaparte was seen to be addressing as they descended the hill to pass the river.

The shot, shell, and balls, fell in showers from time to time in all parts of the field, but there was no time at that moment for consideration of peril. Every man present was obliged to do his duty, for the need demanded every exertion.

The Russians only accuse *one person* of being *deficient in example*; in addition to the heavy charges which can be brought against him for ignorance in the conduct of the troops, for sloth, for indecision of counsels, for panic operations, and for "a desire to let the enemy pass unmolested."

Marshal Kutusow affords a memorable instance of incapacity in a chief, of an absence of any quality that ought to distinguish a commander. Although within five wersts of the action from day-break, he

never had even the curiosity to appear in the field until five o'clock in the evening; and when he did come he never went forward, but, like Canute on the sea-shore, took his station and said to the balls, "Come no further than three hundred paces from me;" and they, unlike the rebel waves, obeyed.

Beningsen, on the other hand, was everywhere; and I accompanied him alone into the town when he arrived, for he would not allow any suite to follow. I have done my duty, and put those in possession of the facts who can prevent their pernicious repetition.

The firing of the town was a terrible expedient. All the wounded who could not move were burnt, but I have seen this so often that I cease to feel the same horror that I felt at first. At Moscow officers and men alike perished.

The night was anxious, and I was very hungry; but morning came, and I was more frightened and more famished. The weak old Marshal took alarm. He ordered a movement to the rear as soon as day dawned when the enemy began to fire. The columns clashed, the horses could not draw through the mud, the bridges over the marsh were broken, the wounded crawling away were crying for aid; and such a scene of confusion ensued as determined me to take my part with the rear guard as the least evil.

The good countenance, however, of this rear guard checked the advance of the enemy. Gradually the difficulties diminished, the army collected three wersts from the town, order was re-established, and there was not a man but the Marshal who would not have thanked Providence for a general battle at that very moment. The transitions from confidence to fear, from joy to

despair, are as frequent as the movements of this army and its occupation of positions; for courage is our only shield.

I had just time to write a note to the Emperor and one to Lord Cathcart, from the drum-head of one of the battalions of Guards, before the courier went off.

The next morning we moved here, as it was proper to cover the Medynsk road after having uncovered the position of Malo-Jaroslavets; where we might have destroyed any enemy who attempted to debouch from the town, for we had seven hundred guns within grape distance and above a hundred thousand men: while Platow and ten thousand of his brave Cossacks are hanging on the rear of the enemy, and have already presented us with sixteen cannon, and all the printing press, depôt of maps, &c., belonging to him, besides securing for themselves an immense booty.

This morning the enemy was retreating, probably to gain the Smolensk road. The Marshal will sing *Te Deum*, but the rest of the army "hymns of lamentation."

If the French army is not wrecked before it reaches the frontier, the Marshal, old and infirm as he is, ought to be shot.

I rely, however, on the Cossacks and light troops, whom I shall certainly join if I find that the main army is thrown out.

Our news from Admiral Tchichagow is excellent, and from *every quarter*; but there is on this account more reason to prevent the reappearance of Buonaparte with an army, lest the embryo of good be crushed.

Baron Brinken, my Russian aide-de-camp, arrived, charged with various kind letters from Lord Cathcart,

&c., many honourable proofs of Imperial favour, but unfortunately no letters from England.

I have been profiting by my few hours' leisure to send a courier to Constantinople, one to Lord Tyrconnel, and one to S. Petersburg, but this constant writing furrows my face fast; at least so I am *told*, for I have not seen it myself since I left S. Petersburg.

My leg is not yet quite well. It also has had its transitions, but I think it past relapse, and sure of restoration to *form*.

General Clarke's nephew remained with my people (who really are the admiration of the army for their gallantry and courtesy) three days. I then despatched him, with a very strong letter of recommendation to all the Russians, a good cloak, and two hundred roubles. I offered to procure his exchange, but he declined until the French were out of their embarrassments, as he "had enough of horse-flesh and Cossack iron."

If young Hammersley were told of this he might let General Clarke know that his nephew, Elliott, was safe and taken care of, but I would not have the money applied for on any account.

October 30th, Medinsk.

Yesterday we marched to Poloianameya, a great cloth-manufactory. There is not in England a more extensive establishment or a mercantile residence more magnificent. I was lodged in some of the best apartments, but I would gladly have exchanged for any ordinary hovel, as the day was bitterly cold, and the stoves smoked so much that they could not be

used. In the evening I despatched Captain Fanshaw, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Oldenburg, to Constantinople, with very long and important letters to Mr. Liston, and others to the Grand Vizir, and the Capitan Pacha.

This morning we marched to Medinsk, where the Cossacks defeated the advanced guard of Prince Poniatowski, taking General Cassewitch, killing Colonel Chevers—married to Princess Czartorinsky, wounding another Colonel, destroying a great many men and capturing five pieces of cannon. The ground is still covered with dead horses and men. In the prison are also about a hundred prisoners; who, on General Beningsen's entrance, asked for some horse-flesh, as they had seen a horse die before their windows.

The captives pay dear for their master's crimes; those are the happiest, indeed, who quit their chains and their lives together.

The massacre at Moscow seems to have been very terrible: not less than four thousand: the greater part convalescent sick and wounded—but the Russians have great wrongs to avenge. Buonaparte was very cruel in the capital, executing many without proof of guilt, for offences which he had no right to punish with death.

The French also have habitually shot all the Russian soldiers who from wounds, &c., could not keep up with the line of march.

We are now in pursuit of the enemy, who is flying with all expedition: he has already destroyed above a thousand waggons. The army is highly indignant with the Marshal for his conduct of the operations:

by a false movement, occasioned by his personal terror rather than by an error of judgment, he has made a circuit of near eighty wersts and has lost sight of the enemy, whom he ought to have daily brought to action and never to have quitted with his main army while ten thousand men remained together.

I can scarcely behave with common decency in his presence. His feebleness outrages me to such a degree that I have declared, if he remains Commander-in-chief, that I must retire from this army.

November 1st, Selino.

Marched to Paska yesterday. Wrote despatches to the Emperor and Lord Cathcart. The Duke of Oldenburg left us here to join his brother at Yaroslav, and proposes to pass by Moscow. We have lived very much together, and I experience a loss in him; but he is anxious to see what is going on at Revel where he is Commander, and how the German legion is forming with which he hopes to embark.

A pursuit through a ravaged country, in such a season as the present, is not a very inviting service for a Prince who has no duty to perform in the army.

This day we marched here, and had the agreeable news of Platow's capture of twenty cannon and two standards, and the destruction of two battalions at the convent of Kollodiy, near Borodino.

The whole road to Mojaisk was enveloped in smoke; we saw various explosions of powder waggons, and heard a cannonade in the line forward with this village; but we have fifty wersts to reach Wiasma, and I fear much that we shall not arrive in time. Had we moved on Joukhnow after we quitted Malo-Jaroslavets, as

we all besought the Marshal to do, we should have been now in an impregnable position facing Wiasma, and the golden glorious opportunity lost at Malo-Jaroslavets might have been retrieved.

The army has been without food the whole of this day, and I fear we must march to-morrow without any, as the provision-waggons are left far behind; but the troops support every privation with wonderful spirit. How lamentable that they should have been so commanded! that they should have been deprived of the recompense their courage merited! that their toils should have been so unnecessarily continued! and that so much more blood must be shed to effect partial success when the whole prize was in their hands!

The peasants of the village in which we now are have wreaked dreadful vengeance on many of the enemy. Fifty were seized here and buried alive. A dog, belonging to one of the unfortunate men, daily went to the French camp and returned to his master's grave. The peasants were afraid of discovery, but they were a fortnight before they could kill the faithful animal.

According to intercepted letters from Buonaparte to Savary, he is retiring on Wilna, but I hope the Admiral will intercept his progress on that route. All the peasants, and the few prisoners who escape death, declare that famine makes great havoc. Their only nourishment is horse-flesh, which many cannot eat as it produces dysentery.

When the poor fellows are taken, they place the fusees of the peasants at their own heads or hearts that they may be sooner destroyed; but this indul-

gence is not always allowed them. The peasant who grants this grace thinks himself almost guilty of a sin. All the letters, and all the Frenchmen with whom I have conversed, state that four things have greatly surprised them in Russia:—

1. The population and cultivation.
2. The goodness of the roads.
3. The sacrifices made by the nobility.
4. The obedience and attachment of the peasantry to their masters.

Had they waited a little longer, the French would have been astonished by the cold, but they chose a most auspicious moment to retire: a season unknown to Russia. However, it has favoured us also; for we could not in ordinary times have passed the cross-roads, as we have done, to remedy the Marshal's *ignorance*, to use the lightest term.

November 5th, Wiasma.

We marched on the 2nd again. Another forced march. Saw the enemy's line of retreat by the uninterrupted train of flames and smoke, that extended many wersts.

On the third every one was ignorant where General Milaradowitch was with his advanced guard, as he had been separated from us several days. I determined to wait no longer with the main army, which had wearied itself with wanderings; I therefore took three Cossacks and my dragoons, with Brinken: the cannonade which we soon heard directed our course; after twenty-five wersts' march we saw the mutual combatants. Anxious to get as quickly as possible to the scene, I endeavoured to

pass a *marais*; my led horse first plunged in; I and my own horse shared the same fate immediately afterwards: I was in a hole, many feet deep, but supported myself by my arms; with some difficulty I was extricated, but wet to my breast: the horses required more exertion and time, but they were saved. Opposed thus unexpectedly by water impediments we were obliged to make a detour round a wood, but we arrived in time to witness a very glorious spectacle.

General Milaradowitch had engaged the enemy soon after day-break, driving before him, with his powerful artillery and heavy bodies of cavalry and infantry, Marshals Murat, Davoust, and Beauharnois' corps d'armée; while Platow in rear of his left, and Orloff in rear of his right, menaced his communications.

The French manœuvred steadily, but the Russian cavalry charged and cut down to a man several detached columns of infantry. The cannon swept their lines and the infantry pressed them in every direction. The enemy, obliged to give way incessantly for twelve wersts, blew up numbers of powder-waggons, and abandoned carriages cars and baggage of every description and all his wounded that could not walk. The route and the fields were covered with their ruins, and for many years the French have not seen such an unhappy day: they could not have lost less than six thousand men. Amongst the prisoners is the chief of Davoust's corps.

Quoad the future?

The Cossacks had entered the town of Wiasma, but retired again, as the enemy's whole body fell upon it. The enemy, however, only entered to fire the town and abandon it, being charged through with

great carnage. Favoured by night, they continued their march with the greatest precipitation to rejoin Buonaparte, who, with his guards, had preceded three days in forced march.

We hope, however, again to reach the enemy—at least their rear guard—and it is natural to expect that snow will check their whole line of march.

The Cossacks are most active, and the booty made is immense: what is yet to be made is so tempting that they venture on very daring incursions. The day before yesterday they took several hundred carts and two twelve-pounders out of the main road. I saw the guns, and the artillerymen confessed that the attack was most audacious.

Had our army been well directed, we should have been at Wiasma two days before the enemy, and the whole fifty thousand men that engaged us yesterday must have surrendered, for they could not have forced the position that we should have occupied with seventy thousand, whilst above thirty thousand were thundering in their rear; nor could they have awaited forty-eight hours any succours, if succours had been near, as they were without food.

The misconduct of the Marshal quite makes me wild. However, much has been done and much more will be done, for the enemy has a long gauntlet yet to run. It is certain that so much distress and so much dishonour have never tarnished the French arms since Buonaparte was the leader; his military prestige is quite ruined.

We had our escapes again; but I am too familiarised to hazard ever to note them, or even to observe them at the time, if surrounding friends did not

remonstrate. I am too happy and too eager to be useful to heed personal considerations in great moments.

I have thought the matters I had to communicate so important for the Emperor and Lord Cathcart and also for General Wittgenstein, that I have dispatched Baron Brinken by the short route to S. Petersburg, and hope he will arrive there in four days. I have now completed my tour round Moscow, Wiasma being the point I started from. Our main army is come within five wersts, but the enemy must be more than twenty ahead. I am mounting, with General Milaradowitch, to pursue with the advanced guard. We shall reach him about midday.

November 13th, Lobkovo.

After I had dispatched Baron Brinken on the fifth of November to S. Petersburg, I returned to Wiasma. The shells that the enemy had buried in the different houses then burning were continually exploding, and the passage through the streets was very dangerous. This thoughtless conduct of the enemy was the death-warrant of many an unfortunate wretch. I had the satisfaction, however, of seeing a very interesting Swiss family saved. The two daughters were as beautiful young women as I ever saw in my life. The first day I proceeded forty wersts, the next seventeen, the next twenty-five, when we entered Dorogobouche by force, the enemy having two divisions in the town who attempted some resistance. The marches were very severe, as the weather was of the most desperate character; but the scene for the whole route presented such a spectacle that every personal consideration was

absorbed by the feelings that the sight of so much woe excited.

I have endeavoured, in my official despatches to Constantinople and S. Petersburg, to delineate the traits of this tragedy, but no pen can truly convey the image.

The naked masses of dead and dying men; the mangled carcases of ten thousand horses, which had, in some cases, been cut for food before life had ceased, the craving of famine at other points forming groups of *cannibals;* the air enveloped in flame and smoke; the prayers of hundreds of naked wretches, flying from the peasantry whose shouts of vengeance echoed incessantly through the woods; the wrecks of cannon, powder-waggons, military stores of all descriptions, and every ordinary as well as extraordinary ill of war combined with the asperity of the climate, formed such a scene as probably was never witnessed to such an extent in the history of the world.

At Wiasma, fifty French, by a savage order, were burned alive. In another village fifty men had been buried alive; but these terrible acts of ferocity were minor features,—they ended in death with comparatively little protracted suffering. Here, death so much invited, so solicited as a friend, came with dilatory step; but still he came without interval of torturing pause.

I will cite three or four of the most painful incidents that I witnessed.

1. A number of naked men, whose backs had been frozen while they warmed the front of their bodies, sat round the burning embers of a hut. Sensible at last to the chill of the air, they had succeeded in

turning themselves, when the fire caught the congealed flesh, and a hard burnt crust covered the whole of their backs. The wretches were still living as I passed.

2. Sixty dying naked men, whose necks were laid upon a felled tree, while Russian men and women with large faggot-sticks, singing in chorus and hopping round, with repeated blows struck out their brains in succession.

3. A group of wounded men, at the ashes of another cottage, sitting and lying over the body of a comrade which they had roasted, and the flesh of which they had begun to eat.

4. A French woman, naked to her chemise, with black, long, dishevelled hair, sitting on the snow, where she had remained the whole day, and in that situation had been delivered of a child, which had afterwards been stolen from her. This was the extreme of mental anguish and bodily suffering.

I could cite a variety of other sad and sorry calamities, but the very recollection is loathsome.

As a man and as an Englishman, I did all in my power to mitigate their griefs. I saved the woman; I gave what little bread I had to the famished; but my all was a mite, and my aid to the afflicted was, from a combination of controlling circumstances, but very inadequate to my desire. Even lives that I preserved were probably but prolonged for a very short date. One anecdote of a veteran French grenadier I, however, must notice. I was just putting a bit of biscuit into my own mouth, when I turned my eye upon his gaze. It was too expressive to be resisted; I gave him what I designed for myself.

The tears burst from his eyes, he seemed to bless the morsel, and then, amidst sobs of gratitude, expressed his hope that an Englishman might never want a benefactor in his need. He lived but a few moments afterwards.

When we approached Dorogobouche every one was convinced that the enemy had abandoned the town; but, being in the front, I conjured the general to take the same precautions as if he was sure that the town was to be defended, and I prevailed upon him to send some chasseurs to gain the heights. The counsel was useful: he lost, as it was, a hundred men unnecessarily. We were very near being killed ourselves, and entirely missed the opportunity of taking the two divisions. I dread presumption and its consequence —negligence—in war. Honour is a worse forfeit than life.

Just before the town was cleared two Wurtembergers were taken, nearly famished: I was very much struck with the appearance and answers of one, and from a respect for our Princess Royal I took them under special protection, having them well fed, &c., and I have asked their liberty, that one or the other may get to Wurtemberg and relate the tale of what has befallen their comrades.

The strongest company of the Wurtemberg troops now consists of four men; and of the six guns they brought with them, four were thrown into the river the same day, and I believe the two others were taken on the day following.

The town of Dorogobouche had not suffered so much as Wiasma. We obtained a tolerable quarter. The next day I put myself in a sledge with Count

Osterman, as General Milaradowitch had orders to join the main army. We were overturned twice in the snow, which proved a disagreeable cold bath, but, after a journey of forty-five wersts, reached Jelnia where we received the news of Platow's success and of the surrender of two thousand men of a depôt under the command of General Augereau, who, it seems, had been neglected by the enemy.

Platow's success was a great pleasure to me. I had guaranteed his good service to the Emperor, for when I came to the army I found him without command and nearly at death's door with chagrin and indignation. Since then he very nearly was removed, as calumny and jealousy have free access to the Marshal. I wrote on this occasion to the Emperor that "General Platow had given the best answer to his enemies."

I do not enter into the military details, as I presume that my despatches will be published. I only notice, as a memorandum, that to the date of the twelfth of November, twelve thousand five hundred and eighty-three prisoners have been taken since the affair of Wiasma, and a hundred and eighty-three cannon actually delivered to the Russian artillery-officers since the affair of the 18th of October. Many cannon have since been found in the different rivers, &c.

Since the evacuation of Moscow I reckon that the enemy has lost in dead, killed, and wounded, twenty-five thousand men, exclusive of many wounded moving with him, and not less than twelve hundred powder-waggons fully charged, taken or blown up.

After such success it may be thought unreasonable to be dissatisfied; but I make these very successes so

obtained a charge against the Marshal's conduct of the army.

Our detachments, climate, and the bad arrangements of the enemy have effected all that has been done: but our main army has kept aloof; has suffered an enemy so situated, so distressed, so feeble, to gain his communications and resources. Nay, the Russian *main army* fled, or rather was made to fly, from this enemy at Malo-Jaroslavets, and purposely avoided traversing his route at Wiasma. The three corps there engaged must have laid down their arms, and would have laid down their arms, if but one corps had occupied the town while the corps of Milaradowitch attacked in front. Our marches were studiously made to avoid the enemy, and a preconcerted system deprived Russia of the glory, and the common cause of a success that would have terminated the war.

Buonaparte has experienced great losses, but he has not been crushed; he has lost a specific number of cannon and of men, and *much reputation*; he has greatly discontented his army and injured his popularity: but, if he passes the Dnieper, he can command and combine the concentrated movements of a hundred thousand men in a friendly country, awe Austria and Prussia, and greatly incommode Russia before he is dislodged from the Vistula.

If ever a vigorous measure was necessary, if ever battle was justifiable, it was on the late occasions.

Marmont at Salamanca did not offer so fair an opportunity, nor would the consequences have been so important.

Victory *here* embraced every interest and every portion of the globe. I have fully exposed the whole

series of these transactions to the Emperor and the British Government through Lord Cathcart.

Victor, with forty thousand men, is gone against Tchichagow.

The Admiral must act like Frederick the Great, or he will be pierced and obliged to fly. He is too weak by fifteen thousand men at least. Genius and activity can alone supply the deficiency. I have written strongly to Tyrconnel, and I hope the deed will meet the need.

My despatches to Constantinople and those which will reach Vienna of course do not enter into the matter which I have treated upon elsewhere. What we have done, and not what we have *left undone*, is the burden of my tale in those quarters.

Amongst the papers taken from the enemy is the biography of the Russian generals, drawn out for Buonaparte, and his reasons for assuring himself that peace would be the consequence of the capture of Moscow,—both most interesting documents. There are also several letters to Maret Prince of Bassano, dislocating his forces, demanding aid from Austria, Prussia, &c., upon various grounds, and requiring that each power should in their Gazettes *double* the number of troops they provide, that Russia may hasten to conclude the war by a belief in the inexhaustible resources of France and her allies. These letters are dated early in October and are originals. They might be published, and be called 'Buonaparte at his last shifts;' for although I think Marshal Kutusow has protracted his ruin, I do not think he can effect the preservation of his offensive power on this side of the Rhine or the Alps.

If I were sent during the *winter to Vienna, with full power on a given basis*, I am sure that not a Frenchman would be in arms in Germany by this time next year. The "*sic volo*" ought to have been the fiat of Buonaparte's fate. The "*sic jubeo*" is still to be rendered imperative. Note this to Hamilton. I am not an undertaker to court a mission that is likely to fail, although I assign, perhaps, no solid reason for my success. Like Johnson's Shakespeare, "I shape airy nothings and embody imagination." Who broke the magic wand at S. Petersburg?

We are now in ancient Poland. The enemy here have all the peasants as friends. The Russian peasantry were hostile to the invader from his plunder of the churches, &c.; time will show whether they were adverse to his revolutionary principles. I am glad; however, to be in Poland, notwithstanding the public enmity. The mode of life, &c., is more European, or rather more generally European: "of comfort let no man speak."

I have seen in the French Bulletins that two hundred cannon were taken at Smolensk. I beg that this may be positively denied. The Russians did not lose one; unless some honeycombed guns, lying about without a carriage of any sort in the town, and several hundred years old, are deemed "captured cannon" in the spirit of military language.

I wish also that the enclosed copy of the Order of the Day * may be published, but not on my authority.

I further wish that application may be made to Hamilton for the 'Courier de Londres' to be regu-

* No. 25. Appendix to Sir R. Wilson's Narrative of the French Invasion of Russia. Murray. 1860.

larly sent to me, as the demand for that paper in this army is most urgent. He may be told that Mr. Liston has been apprised of all that has passed here up to this date by my couriers: that the Emperor has granted me permission for all Piedmontese to be sent to Odessa at the Russian charge, but thence to be transported at our charge or the King of Sardinia's; and that if twenty thousand Germans are wanted as soldiers, I venture to affirm that England may have them in six weeks.

From want of a protection for them, I calculate that six thousand have been murdered by the peasants, and as many by the Cossacks. Many of the poor devils entreated me to let them serve England, without bounty and during life, in any part of the world. I could not, because authority was refused by Lord Cathcart when I was at S. Petersburg, he having "no orders on that head."

Yesterday we marched here. This day we have halted. As a soldier, I regret this fatal delay: as an envoy, I rejoice in the opportunity of completing my correspondence.

We ought to have moved on Krasnoi on the road from Smolensk to Orsza, without a moment's loss of time. Expedition might have recovered some of the advantages which we abandoned at Wiasma by our pusillanimity, or *tenderness for the enemy*.

To-morrow, however, I go to the advanced guard, which is again under the orders of Milaradowitch, and it shall not be my fault if we do not oblige the Marshal to a trespass upon his *friend's interests*.

He is a *sad old rogue, hating English connection*, and basely preferring to independent alliance with us a

servitude to the canaille crew who govern France and her fiefs.

I have experienced that "out of sight" is not "out of mind" in a certain great family.

November 15th, Tchelkanovo.

Thirteen hundred men, a thousand artillery horses left in these environs to refresh, three hundred waggons, two hundred oxen, great magazines, and other booty became the prize of the Cossacks the day before yesterday.

Four hundred and eighty men yesterday fell into the hands of the Chasseurs of the Guard, and a thousand this day into the hands of General Milaradowitch.

Had the army not halted yesterday Poniatowski and his corps must have been taken; he passed last night ten wersts from hence. Why we halted the Marshal only knows. This same halt enabled Buonaparte with his Guards to reach Krasnoi, and finally escape us at the single point at which we could intercept him. Why had Buonaparte this pont d'or? The Marshal and the devil only can tell.

Buonaparte did not let his people in this neighbourhood know of his retreat from Moscow. The prisoners taken, including General Augereau's party, were reposing in perfect security. I fear his rear guard, on evacuating Smolensk, will retire by the road that the Dnieper covers, and join Buonaparte a little beyond Orsza: the distance is only forty wersts. We may then put on ass's ears. Europe will deck us with them, at all events, in the records of these times.

Victor seems to have been sent against Wittgenstein instead of Tchichagow.

But it is an ill wind that blows nobody good. Two couriers were dispatched to the Admiral; he who arrived first with the news of Victor's march was to receive a step of rank. The intelligence sent by the Marshal was erroneous, but the reward must be given.

I suppose Buonaparte was alarmed at Wittgenstein's successes, and trusted to the Austrians, Regnier, and Augereau, for the Admiral's check.

All the French columns are bearing upon Borisow in the first instance, but the Moscow army is too *délabré* to remain in the first line; and therefore, as Buonaparte is too weak to maintain a position without it, he must bon-gré mal-gré fall back behind the Memel.

I have asked for twelve hundred British dragoons, six hundred chasseurs, and a brigade of horse artillery for next campaign. If the English Government grants my request, I shall erect on that basis a force of some consideration. Platow alone will give me six regiments of Cossacks. Of Germans I may have any number, and such additional Russian regular forces as my objects may require. Once in the field, such a force will be no insignificant feature.

I extend my view, it will be said, where others dare not lift their sight; but ambition has an eagle eye, and can shoot its beams in the sun's blaze.

I have just heard that an English officer has reached Wiasma to join me. I presume and hope it is Dawson, Lord Portarlington's brother and Lord Roslyn's aide-de-camp. He will save me the loss of many a night's rest by being an amanuensis.

I have, in my former Diary, approved of Poland as offering more comfort in its cottages and habits of life;

* Or "Niemen."—Ed.

but alas! I find more dirt, more children, and more cats than in Russia.

16*th.*—Platow has taken twenty-five more cannon, a thousand prisoners, and forty officers. Colonel Sislavin has destroyed a battalion of General Zajonizck on march to Krasnoi, and it is now said that Buonaparte will march with his army by Witepsk, and that a corps has already set out.

November 19th, Droubino.

Successes follow so rapidly, that I have with difficulty been able to trace them in my despatches to Lord Cathcart. I must refer to these for the details.

The action of the 17th, however, occasioned me great pain. I was mortified to see Buonaparte retire when his escape was impossible if the order for intercepting the Orsza road had been given but two hours earlier. I was on the road with General Keating; the enemy passed like flocks of sheep without even offering to fire on us. It was then that the Cossacks came to us and said, "What a shame to let these spectres walk from their graves!"

With twenty guns and a thousand horse to protect them I would have engaged for the capture, surrender, or destruction of twenty thousand men; with a little infantry and a short time to have posted it behind the ravines, for the possession of the whole.

The enemy were famished, weary, weak and cold, and terrified by surrounding perils. Many had no muskets; more had no ammunition. Not one circumstance favoured them, but all conspired against them. Can there be a stronger or clearer proof than the sacrifice of Ney and his corps?

If Buonaparte had not thought safety impossible in case of the Russians gaining the Orsza road, would he have abandoned ten thousand men with more than a hundred and forty cannon; and his best men, chiefly fresh troops, as far as eight thousand? The rest were a collection of what had formed the garrison of Smolensk, and the stragglers of the corps.

Adversity has truly poured on Buonaparte's head; he has lost his fortunes, and with his fortunes his reputation, for never was a retreat so wretchedly conducted.

Marshal Ney's march on the left bank of the Dnieper, when he had a good and safe route on the right, *is a prodigy of destiny.*

I arrived just in time to see the magnificent attacks and repulse of the enemy. As I have written to the Emperor, "It was a conflict of heroes, and even the vanquished have acquired honour."

The carnage was tremendous; the ground was covered with the dead and dying; the Russian bayonets were dripping with the crimson torrents; the poor wounded wretches lay shivering in the snow, imploring death, which many are destined to experience with more suffering; for famine awaits them, and cold—indeed, it awaits all the prisoners for many days to come. The pike also points at their lives, when they proceed fainting from mutilation and exposure.

Happy are those who are slain in the field. Thousands have only lived a few days to perish with accumulated misery.

I have written strongly on this subject. It is time to terminate these injurious and revolting barbarities.

Fate is truly inevitable. We halted two days in five. We marched only fifteen and seventeen wersts a day, and yet we found the enemy at Krasnoi. The Marshal certainly was more surprised than pleased. He succeeded, however, in saving Buonaparte a second time. *More he could not do.* The fortune of Russia prevailed after the Marshal had effected that service for *his* friend.

The Marshal, however, is like "the Vicar" when Buonaparte is "the distressed hare." He begins to think him more faulty, and to aim at his person, which is no longer deemed sacred. I think he would now permit a gun to be fired at Majesty: at least his language this day authorises such an opinion. Dead bodies, moving "*ghosts*," mangled carcases, standards, artillery and powder-waggons, carriages, and all species of wrecks, cover the roads, and fill every wood.

The baggage taken is enormous, and its value immense. One waggon was full of gold and silver ingots. Another military chest had two hundred thousand pounds in specie. Davoust's carriage had his Marshal's staff, all his insignia, private correspondence, the French cyphers, manuscript maps, &c. Others had all Beauharnois' property and effects.

Buonaparte has now lost, since the commencement of the campaign, two hundred thousand men, of whom eighty-two thousand are actually prisoners; seventeen generals are captives; above four hundred cannon are in the Russian parks; more than forty standards are in, or on their way to, the Palace of S. Petersburg; and a vast variety of trophies will deck the hall of victory.

The ruin is gigantic in the aggregate. It might

have been complete, and the column of Russian glory might now have been fixed on the tomb of the world's enemy.

Perhaps what has been left undone is deferred only, and not lost. I count much upon Platow, and much more upon the Admiral, who will gallantly grapple with the fugitive, notwithstanding that convoy appears in sight.

As soon as Lord Walpole leaves me—he will go to-morrow evening—I shall hasten to Platow, as he has urgently sent for me this day. I have obtained all his objects, and he is grateful.

November 25th, Staroselie, right bank of the Dnieper, ten wersts from Kopis.

Lord Walpole continued with me to Laninki, when he proceeded on his route. On his journey he saw enough to be satisfied of the accuracy of my delineations, and during the time he was with me, more than enough to convince him that glory, but not any kind of comfort, is the solace of this campaign. The wretched hovels in which we had our quarters, filled with children, cats, and earwigs, quite satiated his military ardour.

The enemy continued his retreat, abandoning Orsza with five hundred sick men and twenty-five cannon, and losing to Count Augerausky several hundred men and four cannon, and to Colonel Sislavin several hundred dismounted dragoons. The day before yesterday we entered Kopis, a tolerably good town by comparison, and filled with Jews, who, for exorbitant payment, provided some white bread and wine. A column of the French had passed two days before, but

had not destroyed the place—they were grateful for not having been destroyed themselves, which might and ought to have been done. Here I laid my hands on a most interesting and valuable letter from the *soi-disant* Queen Caroline, acting the part of Regent of Naples to Buonaparte.

Her Majesty's description of her powers of defence concludes with the confession that her chief confidence was reposed in the impression that Buonaparte's approaching victories would create. But as I propose to send the letter, I shall not précis or dwell upon it.

A variety of other original letters from various other persons were under my inspection, many of them from crowned heads, but all in the same tone—"alarms of attack and insurrection, or inability to raise the military supplies demanded."

The King of Bavaria, in his letter declaring the impossibility of furnishing a regiment of cavalry in addition to his present forces, continues—"If it were practicable you may be sure I would do it; comme je ne voudrois pas me faire tirer par les oreilles pour un rien."

I find enough in other correspondence to convince me that I should have had a successful field in Dalmatia; but I do not regret, as I have seen a rare sight.

Letters came from Tyrconnel, which occupy me much. The Admiral was at Slonim on the 7th of November, having left General Sacken with twenty-nine thousand men, to watch the Austrians on the Boug. A French corps of unknown force had menaced the Admiral's left, about seventy wersts from Slonim, and induced him to halt.

The Admiral has, however, according to the account

of the Jews, since entered Minsk, as ordered; but I think the movement false, for Ertel, Tormanssow, and Wittgenstein could have assembled on the Beresina, and then he would have done better if he had operated against Wilna, where the enemy has magazines, an entrenched camp, and only two thousand disorganised men as a guard. From thence he might have proceeded and overrun all the country between the Vistula and the Niemen, cut off the enemy's posts, secured his stores, and beat back if he had not destroyed all the reinforcements on march, and on which the enemy relies for an improvement of his affairs. Such a plan of warfare would have thrown all ranks into dismay, and assured the ruin of the remaining wreck.

Buonaparte may perhaps not think it prudent to force back the Admiral, but he can evade him by the route of Vileika; and the Admiral will scarcely adventure from the Minsk route to intercept him on the Vileika route, especially as we are *five marches behind!*

This campaign has rather shown what ought to have been done than afforded a lesson by what has been done. Omissions are its chief characteristics; and Fortune has sported with presentations of opportunities by which she seemed to be aware that fatality would not suffer Russia to profit.

Tyrconnel writes me the highest encomiums of the Admiral, and of the state of his army, particularly his cavalry.

During the day, I expedited a courier to Constantinople, and another to the Emperor, with letters to his Majesty and to Lord Cathcart. In one to the Emperor I have strongly recommended a general and prompt amnesty to the Poles.

This morning the Grand Duke arrived suddenly. He received me with most remarkable proofs of friendship, and with *masonic* proofs of amicable bonds. I had no opportunity to speak with him in private, but I perceived that he has matter for conversation.

I trust he has authority to terminate the difficulties which exist at our head-quarters, and which rather increase, indeed, than diminish. If Beningsen will but wait a little the Marshal's age and infirmities will oblige him to resign. They say that "Fortune is blind," but I pretend that "Glory" in this war is less capable of discrimination in her choice of those on whom she confers favours. The blow, however, is severer on Buonaparte, and that is some compensation.

Before I left Kopis this morning, for we halted yesterday on account of the passage of the Dnieper, a General Delazante, charged with the arrangement of provisions for the late grand army of France, sent me a note to request to see me. On coming, he told me that he had been employed to translate my Russian work for Buonaparte, and that the secret was only known to the Minister of Police, the Auditor of the Secretary of State Department, himself, and Buonaparte. He declared that he had faithfully translated the whole, and then proceeded to give me some very interesting anecdotes and political information. If he says true, I *accelerated the war*. The political chapter, if it merited *any* attention, certainly was calculated to have that effect.

I forgot to mention that the Grand Duke told me he had gone on board an English brig at Cronstadt, and that he had seen a sergeant of marines and twelve soldiers, who, for appearance, tenue, marching, use of

arms, and, in short, the whole military parade representation, exceeded whatever he had imagined could be found in any soldiery. That sergeant and those men have contributed a good service which they little think of. They have done *more ill* to France than any sergeant and twelve men since the revolution!

I believe the brig was the "Snipe." I wish to let Cockburn, who is Colonel of Marines, know of the merit of this party.

I did intend to send home Liston's despatches, but as I may want them here for reference, I cannot avoid copying two* paragraphs, which I think will give satisfaction, and may be of use if judiciously, that is *discreetly* noticed when opportunity may offer or the support of some claim may be needed.

His encomiums at least entitle me to favourable notice as a Diplomatic Envoy, and I am much mistaken if my letters after the capture of Moscow will not have produced more important benefits by counteraction, if not by action.

I am ambitious of being recognised as a useful public servant, and I think I shall succeed.

December 1st, Usza.

After leaving the station at which I dated my last letter, we marched to Kroughloé, an estate of Marshal Woronzow's, which he inherited from Princess Danskow, in preference to her daughter. There are three thousand peasants upon it. The site is very picturesque, but the house is in a ruinous state. At the end of its garden runs the river which formed the ancient boundary of Poland.

* Published in Appendix to 'Narrative,' Nos. 5 and 6.

In the middle of the night I saw two peasants creep into my room, and lie down by the stove to thaw themselves on one of the bitterest nights I ever knew. Their presumption was great, but they seemed to plead "Poor Tom's a-cold," and I let them remain.

The next morning General Beningsen was, by an order of the Marshal, sent from the army. The dissensions had long been very injurious to the service, but the Marshal took this step at the time when General Beningsen had for the good of the service taken pains to prove his wish for reconciliation.

The Emperor must now express his opinion as to the merits of the rivals.

I do not pretend to say that Beningsen, *as Commander-in-chief*, would have followed his own counsels offered as *second in command;* but this I know, that if he had directed the Marshal's decisions, Buonaparte would be now out of all sphere of mischievous action in this world.

I remained the whole day with Beningsen at Kroughloé. The next morning we parted with mutual regrets.

Having sent on my horses, I proceeded in a traineau. It occupied twenty-four hours to regain the headquarters, as we lost our road and enjoyed all the comforts of eighteen degrees of frost with a heavy snow falling.

We marched to Arckova on *glass*. I wrote there long despatches to the Emperor and Lord Cathcart, and received many letters from Tyrconnel and other persons, but, alas! none from England. At night I was tormented by a multiplicity of ills—aged sick, squalling brats, cockroaches and earwigs in millions.

We are truly living with paupers of the lowest class: no English workhouse would receive such a set. In England I would not, for ten thousand a year, inhabit such dwellings and keep such society; and in a Polish hovel, to tell the truth, glory shines dimly.

I have, however, resolved to repel all infants in future. They may go to the bears in the woods, but "I'll none of them."

This morning I crossed the Beresina, not yet frozen, which I thought a favourable circumstance, but it was of no importance. Shared quarters with General Tormanssow this day. General Dombrowsky occupied them ten days since.

I now proceed to military details of greater interest than those which have previously occurred, because they close the tale of Buonaparte's perilous retreat.

Lord Tyrconnel had informed me of Admiral Tchichagow's having left General Sacken with twenty thousand men to watch the Austrians, and of his having marched in the direction of Minsk himself with thirty thousand men, giving orders to General Ertel to join with fifteen thousand, who by some mismanagement never moved from Mozyr.

On the 28th I received advice that Admiral Tchichagow's advanced guard, under General Lambert, had surprised the troops at Minsk sufficiently to prevent the conflagration of great magazines and to secure a hospital with three thousand men. The Jews, who knew of the Admiral's approach, concealed the intelligence from the enemy, as they prefer Russian toleration and moderation in the rule of their nation to the heavy imposts and military conscriptions of the French and Poles.

A further account brought advice of General Cassewitch having surrendered to General Lambert with two thousand six hundred men; of General Dombrowski having lost seven hundred men in the environs of the village in which I am writing; and that a considerable number of prisoners were made by the detached parties in various directions, and a great quantity of baggage taken.

A courier brought advice from Count Wittgenstein that he had reached Baran, driving Victor and S. Cyr before him. It was also stated that General Tchaplitz had occupied the Vileika route to Wilna by a post at Zembin, and as we were now moving on Igumen Buonaparte's retreat was deemed impracticable.

Joy and exultation were general. Perhaps I was the only man in the army who feared that the toil was neither perfect nor strong enough to retain the prey. I had always represented the necessity of pressing upon the enemy with an army; of keeping him in view and under our fire.

If it was necessary to watch the Igumen road, I wished it to be done with two corps, and not by our whole force.

I had described our delays at Krasnoi as fatal, and our marches by cross-roads in a false direction as ruinous to our army.

I will not, however, weary others by a *raisonnement* which is now of little use. I shall, on the contrary, write narrative connectedly, and not note the statements *particularly* as they were from time to time received.

It appears, then, that Admiral Tchichagow's advanced guard, under General Lambert, on the 20th

pursued General Dombrowski to the entrenchments of the tête-du-pont of Borisow, stormed them, although the Russians were greatly outnumbered, and carried them, with a loss to the enemy of two thousand killed and three thousand prisoners.

On the 23d the advanced guard of the French army, retiring from us, reached Borisow, surprised the Russians, took seven hundred chasseurs and a great part of the equipages of the Admiral's head-quarters, with the Admiral's correspondence; but did not reach the bridge in time to save it from being effectually fired.

The Admiral took up a position opposite Borisow, anxiously expecting tidings from us, and the sight of our advanced guard. On the 25th the Admiral, conceiving from the same report which deceived us that the enemy would attempt to pass the Beresina River at Beresino, and thus scour the Igumen road, and not knowing our movement in this direction, left General Langeron in front of Borisow, recalled General Tchaplitz from Zembin, and proceeded thirty wersts on the road to Beresino and to a village called Shoulifaka.

The enemy had, however, found the piles of the old bridge leading to Zembin perfect, and therefore they had only to relay planks: this was quickly done, and two divisions were pushed across to occupy Zembin. General Langeron, who was at Borisow, hearing of this passage, which took place on the 26th, sent back Tchaplitz to Zembin; but he arrived too late, and could not dislodge the enemy.

The Admiral returned on the 27th to Borisow, but had thirteen wersts further to march to reach the tête-du-pont of the enemy, which was defended by thirty cannon.

The same day Count Wittgenstein reached the enemy's rear guard, and intercepted its junction with the main body. In the morning of the 28th, General Camus, several other generals, and seven thousand men laid down their arms, and three thousand men whom Platow surrounded at Borisow also surrendered.

The Admiral, on the morning of the 28th, had commenced his attack on the corps of troops that covered the filing of the enemy's army. This corps, commanded by Oudinot, was strongly posted in a wood with a surrounding *marais* partially frozen. The Russians, consequently, could only use their tirailleurs, and lost four thousand men in the action. The French had not so many men killed or wounded; but General Legrand was killed, and Marshal Oudinot, General Merle, and another general wounded.

Towards dusk the advanced guard of General Wittgenstein reached the heights that commanded the original bridge and a new foot-bridge on the Beresina over which the enemy was passing. Three batteries were immediately established. When the bridge was ordered to be burnt the next morning, a scene of confusion and terror ensued that by every account must have been horrible.

Carriages, guns, infantry, cavalry, women and children, all rushed to the flaming piles. The mass was chiefly composed of persons whom Buonaparte would not save in the first instance to the hazard of his best troops.

Many were drowned, many burnt, many crushed; and very many killed or mangled by the shot that ploughed this fatal ground.

All the remaining equipages of the French army, including the plunder of the churches of Moscow, and

immense treasure, much of which was in French gold coin, fell into the hands of Count Wittgenstein's army. But the great prize had escaped; and as I embrace the whole view, and do not confine myself to partial incidents, I lamented, and could not joy in the intelligence.

On the 29th, as the enemy had broken down several small but necessary bridges, for the passage of the marsh, the armies of Admiral Tchichagow and Count Wittgenstein were obliged to remain inactive; but on the 30th the enemy's small rear guard of his grand rear guard was driven by General Tchaplitz from Zembin with the loss of three guns, several officers, and three hundred men; and General Lanskoi, who had preceded the enemy, reported his capture of General Kamenskoi, thirty officers, the commandant of Buonaparte's head-quarters, and four hundred men.

I suppose, from every account, and from my own calculations, that the enemy cleared himself with forty-five thousand effective men. To this number must be added twenty-five thousand under Macdonald: the Austro-French army which has been checked at Roudnia by Sacken with the loss of two thousand prisoners, one Saxon standard, one eagle, and much equipage: Augereau's corps, small garrisons, and the Polish reserves.

I estimate the whole thus:—

Buonaparte	45,000
Macdonald	25,000
Austro-French	40,000
Detached	5,000
	115,000
Augereau	30,000
Polish Reserve	8,000
Grand Total	153,000

The remains of three hundred thousand which passed the Russian frontier.

It is now that all will regret opportunities lost. It is now that the crowns of complete victory disdained at Malo-Jaroslavets, Wiazma, and Krasnoi will flit before the eyes of those most blinded by ignorance.

When will fortune again woo us to achieve without peril or loss in one day what so many years, so much treasure, so many brave armies had in vain attempted heretofore?

How many toilsome marches, how many doubtful conflicts, how many anxious days and nights, how much life, how much property would have been saved merely by an attitude of resistance!

I give to the Russians all *due*, and that is *high* honour, for their patriotism and courage; but the escape of Buonaparte with a train carrying arms is a stain upon their escutcheon. I have so often recapitulated Buonaparte's difficulties while he was at Moscow; I have so frequently represented the impediments opposed to his retreat, that I shall not again press the subject. The whole must be familiar to every one who speaks of famine, climate, distance, and doubly superior force at the outset, and knows that every day augmented the disproportion and added to the inefficiency of the enemy.

Buonaparte, however, has lost his military credit altogether with his army. He has committed faults of which the most ignorant would not have been guilty, if they had acquired command; they are unparalleled in magnitude and in mischief to his own interests; and if France does remain true to him, he has made himself dependent on Austria and Prussia. It is to be hoped that both powers will remember national

wrongs and personal injuries, and that they will not be so false to themselves, as *with their own means* now to contend that France may preserve Germanic influence and Italian dominion.

Whatever may be their dislike or fear of Russia, at least I will hope that they are wise enough to see that this is the moment to acquire their own independence, to recover their losses, and to strengthen themselves, so as to be superior to enmity or ambition.

The next six weeks will be very important. I do not now expect to reach the Vistula this year. I shall be satisfied to gain the Niemen. We ought not to stop till our "foaming horses are washed in the waters of the Oxus:" but he who would not fight at Malo-Jaroslavets or at Wiasma; who would not bar the road to shadows of soldiers at Krasnoi; will never risk offensive operations when the chances of success are greatly diminished and the evils of failure are manifold.

From a letter of the young Woronzow to me I am sure that if he had commanded the war, at least *Buonaparte's* war would ere this have ended. I am presumptuous enough to think myself an adequate Commander-in-chief for the late occasion; but although I could not from want of authority annihilate him, I feel very proud of having been the bar to his progress at Malo-Jaroslavets, through a country where he would have found subsistence.

My battery was truly a valuable one. Those of the foe who survived that day, and were present on that occasion, will acknowledge it: those of our friends who saw the disorder from which it gave them time to clear themselves will with gratitude hereafter confess the service.

December 6th, Dobrieka, 35 wersts from Minsk.

The Marshal yesterday morning went to Admiral Tchichagow's army. As I foresee troubled water there I made an excuse, while I was dining with the Marshal the preceding day, and stated my wish to remain here a few days, because I was expecting couriers from Constantinople and *another* quarter, which is really the truth.

I do not wish to change my position until I know the definitive arrangements for the respective armies, both as to their number and command.

I have recommended two in the first line, one of eighty thousand and the other of sixty thousand, with an army of support and reserve, which in the first instance I think may amount to sixty thousand.

Russia has lost in this war about a hundred and ten thousand men, killed, dead, and prisoners; and there are about seventy thousand now wounded and sick: but of her remaining efficient strength, including the Cossacks, there is too great a proportion of cavalry: some of the infantry, too, are now only recruits, not clothed, and part are militia; but nevertheless, by the spring the whole may be well organized.

The loss of property to Russia in this war is immense; Moscow alone twenty-five millions sterling; but she has gained solid power in the knowledge of her own strength, and prosperity will be the consequence. For the moment she may want aid, particularly in cloth for her armies; but that is an aid for which I hope we shall not have to solicit. It should come spontaneously from England, and she will soon repay herself.

In case my project for the formation of three armies of the amount suggested should be thought beyond Russia's means, I subjoin an estimate of her efficient forces which composed her armies a few weeks since:—

Sacken	29,000
Ertel	15,000
Tchichagow	25,000*
Wittgenstein and Steingel	40,000
Main army	80,000
	189,000

exclusive of the garrison of Riga, 40,000 regulars at Nijnii Novrogod, many thousand in different parts which may feed these armies, and four hundred thousand militia, with an armed peasantry. †

To give an idea of the forces of this empire, I will state that the Marshal ordered the militia of Little Russia to advance upon Moghilev thinking that fifteen thousand would arrive: but twenty thousand horse and

* Five thousand having been put hors de combat.

† *Extract from private Letter.*

"December 18, 1812.

"Russia has reason to be proud of the firmness of her sovereign, the patriotism of her people, and the courage of her soldiers, but the nation has to mourn lost opportunities for the conclusion of the war. I have, however, resolved, for the general good, not to depreciate the past. I have ceased to arraign when the remedy was no longer practicable. I have broken bread with the defaulter, and I will not lapse into fresh accusations. What has been done has exceeded far the calculations of most men, though it has not equalled mine. I never for a moment miscalculated the enemy's power or necessities. I did think he would not go to Moscow when I left Smolensk: I gave him then, indeed, credit that he did not merit. Had he adopted my ideas as I traced them to Lord Castlereagh, which I see so woefully mangled in many of the papers, he would have saved a hundred thousand men, Poland, and his honour."—R. W.

twenty-six thousand foot made their appearance! And yet Buonaparte, without any talent, did escape from such a multitude of real warriors! Xenophon's retreat was more glorious, but it was not so marvellous.

I propose to go to-morrow with the Duke of Wurtemberg to Minsk, and join the army the third day. I hope to gain some intelligence, but I also wish to buy some few articles, and to repair some few tatters.

The weather is severe in the extreme, above eighteen degrees of cold this day; and there is not a a bottle of wine with the army. If one accidentally appears, the price given for the worst quality is twenty-four shillings English currency; a pound of white bread costs three shillings; and everything else is in proportion. These prices, with the misery of our habitations, certainly make Newgate at once a preferable residence.

In eight days we shall all concentrate about Wilna; but if the enemy does evacuate, or we force it, I fear there will be little additional supply in our markets.

Nine o'clock.—I have just returned from dinner with General Tormanssow, and we had one bottle of wine. This is really such an agreeable surprise that I cannot help noticing it.

"It never rains but it pours." My Cossacks have also brought six ducks, a bull calf, and six loaves of white bread. This enables me to be very generous to friends, who like myself will *ask no questions but* "take the goods the gods provide."

Minsk.

Yesterday, in a dreadfully cold day, I came here on horseback without any accident, though my horses were not rough-shod. Many persons were less fortunate, and various accidents, as I hear, occurred in the different columns, some of a serious nature.

I was much pleased to find Minsk an excellent town, which had not been plundered, and which afforded various supplies, at a dear rate, but still supplies. The commandant was an old friend. The Duke of Wurtemberg came about four hours afterwards, with Dawson, &c. They travelled in carriages, and were more frozen than myself.

Met an old servant of General Gardiner's who had been head groom to General Radziwil. Established him as my "maître d'hotel" for the occasion; but, although I got a tolerably good quarter, alas! I could find no wood for the stoves, and that night and this morning I was in splendid misery, and longed for my cabins with cockroaches, earwigs, children, *scents*, &c. It was near ten o'clock before I could get a fire lighted in a chimney, and the air was afterwards so severe that water froze at the distance of three feet from a wood blaze that in England would have scorched intolerably at twelve feet.

My dragoons are all chilled to the bones, and I am obliged to procure them here sheep-skin coats. However, when in the air I defied the cold, for I even took off the great coat that I had been accustomed to wear in order that it might be repaired, and walked about, with the thermometer at 19 degrees, in my jacket without any waistcoat. The vanity of the act, I

believe, kept me warm, for I was not so cold as I had frequently been before in less frost and with more covering.

Passed a very pleasant day. Met many friends, and was in agreeable society which I did not expect, for I supposed that at least all the noblesse of the place would have fled.

The variety of interests that are felt and operating here present a curious tableau. I think, however, all men concur in abhorring Buonaparte.

Among the prisoners I found a fine young man, the nephew of Talleyrand. He had his leg broken at Polotzk by a ball, and in the affair of the Beresina he was wounded in three places while attempting to save Oudinot then wounded by a ball in the loins, and who was withdrawing on horseback from the fire.

The Commandant Colonel Knoring had been kind to him, but still he was in great need. To the nephew of Talleyrand, in disgrace now for opposition to the Spanish and Russian wars, I felt disposed to do that which I would not have done if the family had been prospering in Buonaparte's smiles. I gave him two shirts out of the small stock left me, two waistcoats that I never wore, and two hundred and fifty roubles, which, in English currency, is near 25*l.* Hammersley may note this young man's being taken care of, and his going to Kiew where he will be well treated; but *on no account the loan—or gift as it may be.* I have particular reasons that this act should not be accompanied by any incident that may detract from its liberality, but I have no objection to let Bosville know that one of my motives was his ancient friendship with the uncle.

I have, in many instances, done other acts of kindness to other officers; but truly the whole revenue of many a sovereign prince would not suffice to clothe the naked and relieve all the wretchedness that forcibly claims aid.

Minsk was a hospital for the French, and eight thousand died here; four hundred and fifty were lying unburied when the Russians entered; and there were above three thousand sick in hospital of French, and two thousand Russians.

There were great magazines here, many of which were hastily disposed of, under the apprehension of the Austrians' approach. Six thousand muskets were also taken here in depôt. Buonaparte had proposed to fall back by this route. The operations at Borisow threw him upon Wilna.

Minsk contains four thousand Christian inhabitants, and four hundred Jews. The wealth that this town possesses is therefore considerable; but the country round has been much distressed by requisitions.

I acquired here the intelligence that the Austrians have taken Pinsk, with great magazines, and that they push their posts to Stolpitz, and about fifty wersts from hence. Their force, with the Saxons, &c., is estimated at forty thousand strong, and they have their very best regiments with them. Sacken's action was against Regnier and the Saxons, not against Schwartzenberg and the Austrians.

There is no communication with Sacken, and his present position is therefore uncertain. I have, however, no fear for his safety, as he can draw back upon Jitomir, where he will find the Little Russia militia forty thousand strong.

At Wilna, it appears, Buonaparte has a reserve of twenty thousand at least; and I suspect, from every account, that he has retired stronger than was supposed, and that, notwithstanding his daily losses, he will still have considerable means; but his military and political influence, his claim of invincibility, his moral authority,—all are shattered, and beyond his own power of recovery. What may be done for him time will show, but the Cabinets of Europe have always been so foolish, that I do not expect wisdom on this occasion, however propitious.

I have learnt many curious anecdotes of Buonaparte: those relating to his inquietudes are not the least interesting.

When he saw Ney enter, after his escape, with a handful of men, he could scarcely speak to welcome the Marshal, who, it is said, was loud in his reproaches against Davoust, and indirectly against the Emperor.

December 13th, Vishnev.

On the 11th we quitted Minsk, after the Duke had given a breakfast, and his officers a dance which was attended by about twenty Polish ladies, two or three of them very pretty. It was a frost of twenty degrees, and a very cutting wind. I went in a traineau for the first ten wersts, and my nose froze once, but not to a serious degree: timely observation of General Rolt, restored circulation. The coachman's cheek was more severely nipped, but he quickly regained its colour by sharp rubbing.

After the first ten wersts, I attempted to ride; but I had scarcely gone a werst, before a Russian carter roared out to me to stop, and made the most anxious

signs to me to dismount. I had no sooner done so, than he filled his hands with snow, and rubbed my face violently. I followed his efforts, but the frost had so deadened the nose and right cheek, that very little effect was perceptible for some time, and the carter actually moaned over me as if I was his own child. At length I felt the blood return, and with much pain. It was impossible for me to brave the inclement air any more for that day, and I got into a calash that was passing. In five wersts the calash broke down. I then put myself into a one-horse traineau, carrying wine and provisions in boxes to General Tormanssow. In four wersts the traineau overset, and I hurt myself sensibly for the time by falling on a pocket pistol which I carry in my over-dress. For fifteen wersts I went on again very wretched, but carefully rubbing my nose from time to time, and covering it from the wind as much as I could: but it was more exposed than other noses, as I wear only a general's cap without any shade.

During my progress the carter's nose twice froze in splotches as big as half-a-crown, and we made a compact to regard each other every five minutes. At the end of twenty wersts, I got into a better traineau, in which a stranger was passing, and in five wersts more reached Volojin, where our head-quarters were; but on ascending the hill on foot a grenadier stopped me, to tell me that my nose was again frozen. I really was quite miserable; rough destiny had resolved to make me a martyr, for there would be no living without a nose. I hastened to General Tormanssow; as soon as I entered he told me that my cheek was frozen, and congratulated me on the preservation of my nose which showed the effects of its congelation.

A warm room soon broke the skin, and inflammation succeeded morbidity. This morning one side was scaled as if I had been burnt, and the rigidity of the skin was so great, that it felt as if it was a piece of dried and distended flesh. This uncomfortable sensation has somewhat passed, but it will be several days before I can show my face again with any satisfaction. I had not myself seen it for many weeks until this morning, and I was quite frightened and disgusted. Bosville's distorting glass never presented such outré proportions.

The accident has made me think very seriously, and I am of opinion that *glory, without a nose*, can never be "a gay seducer," so war in this climate is too perilous for voluntary service. Truly the service is rude beyond all parallel, and certainly no money can indemnify for the injury that health must sustain from such a season, such privations, and such endurance.

At Minsk, a horse that cost 50*l*., English currency, with an English saddle, was lost. My porte-feuille, with several papers of great importance, has shared the same fate, and this day Dawson's servant has lost a new pair of pistols of his master's, and a cloak that is worth its weight in gold in nights that average 25 degrees of frost. God give us a good deliverance! but this campaign has sadly shattered me hitherto. I shall return, if no other mishap occurs, with an unshaped leg, and the wrinkles of a grand climacterism.

The Marshal having ordered the guards, the grenadiers, and the cuirassiers to Wilna, I am going there with the Duke of Wurtemberg to-morrow; but I go with regret, as I am sure the movement is false, and

that we ought to push the Austrians at Novogrodek, so that we may reach the Vistula this year.

General Tormanssow will remain at Oshmiana, twenty-four wersts nearer Wilna than this station, until further orders; but I am happy to find that Minsk will be covered by about ten thousand men; for since the capture of Sloutsk by the Austrians, where they took several hundred waggons of bread, I much feared that they would enterprise upon Minsk; and having fifteen thousand good cavalry, they could have done it with facility, and with assurance of success.

Pinsk was a great prize to them. A hundred thousand pounds' worth of corn, and a park of powder-waggons.

The Marshal informs us that the Admiral at Smorgoni took twenty-five guns and three thousand men; and two thousand at Oshmiana, with many more guns which the enemy abandoned. These captures are of increased importance, as the prisoners belong to the fresh troops which advanced from Wilna to cover Buonaparte's retreat. We have not yet got the direction of Buonaparte's march; but I think he will be like the river Mole in his course yet: I hope he will not re-appear with an overwhelming torrent that will drive us beyond the Dwina. The Austrians overrunning Wolhynia, and the Russian army on the defensive on an untenable line from Minsk, is not a cheering prospect.

The weather was not so very severe this day, but I rode with speed to get my nose out of the open air as quickly as possible.

A good monastery received us, General Tormanssow

fed us, and the Duke *tea'd*; so the day passed well. The Grand Duke, before I mounted, came to our quarters, and received me most cordially.

December 17th, Wilna.

I had scarcely concluded, when Brinken made his appearance, bringing me a letter* from the Emperor *in his own hand,* and *of a most gracious content,* and I had a further proof of the Emperor's regard in finding that Brinken, in consequence of going with my letters, had been made a captain: this, considering that he had only six weeks before been appointed to the guards, is an unprecedented favour and mark of good-will.

I also received letters from Lord Cathcart of a very satisfactory nature; one from Lord Castlereagh, or rather an extract, not quite so liberal in its spirit; but my revenge will be to force his acknowledgment of my good services to the country without any party spirit influencing that duty. He ought to know that I should be unacceptable to the estimable portion of *the party* if I permitted any feeling to operate that was detrimental to the public good.

I also received a letter from Lord Grey, which I value more than all the favours of His Royal Highness's Government to favourites; one from the Duke of Gloucester truly kind, a variety from different

* Probably the letter without date, published as a 'Memorandum,' in the Appendix to the 'Narrative,' from the original, No. 18.—ED.

"Je vous rends grace, Général, pour l'exactitude avec laquelle vous me tenez informé de ce qui se passe a l'armée. Vos notions me sont souvent très utiles. Continuez, je vous prie, de faire de même, et recevez l'assurance de l'estime que je vous porte.

"ALEXANDRE."

friends, and—the last-mentioned not the least valued—several from my family, in one of which a *thirteenth* offspring is announced. I also got a packet full of useful clothes, &c., and I was altogether rendered very happy. I was, however, sorry to find that Wyburn was laid up with a fever at Stockholm.

The next morning the Duke of Wurtemberg and myself resolved to go to Wilna, and we went that day thirty-five wersts. I rode on horseback. Twenty-eight degrees of cold. A separate quarter was assigned me, which Dawson and I at nine at night endeavoured to find; but after wandering about to all the villages round for two hours, we were obliged to retrace our steps, and take a bench at the Duke's.

At five in the morning I again started, and with more success, as a peasant was with me. The cold had increased, and I was almost frozen when I arrived two wersts' distance. The fear of the wolves even, now in their raging season, had not warmed my blood.

I rode that day thirty-five more wersts, and missed my road; so, instead of being with the Duke, I found myself with General Milaradowitch. As soon as I entered the room I found various hands pointing to my face which was generally frozen, but, by the application of snow immediately, after some time the blood returned.

General Milaradowitch was himself laid up with a frozen eye, and almost every one present was a sufferer from the inclement weather.

I passed a very agreeable day, and this morning came into Wilna along a road covered with human carcases, frozen in the contortions of expiring agonies. The entrance of the town was literally choked with

dead bodies of men and horses, tumbrils, guns, carts, &c., and the streets were filled with traineaus carrying off the dead that still crowded the way.

Painters and sculptors would be benefited by the specimens. Accustomed as I am to scenes of carnage and distress, it is a repeated picture that I loathe the more that I see of it. For the last two months I have seen very nearly as many dead and dying as living beings. The enemy have a disease internally, occasioned by eating horse-flesh without bread and salt, that carries off nine-tenths even of those who survive the field and epidemic sickness. Change of diet causes almost instant death, unless very carefully regulated. I have seen comparatively hale men, after a little food, lie down, doze, and die in half an hour. The dead, however, are to be envied. With frost to twenty-eight and thirty degrees, naked bodies and infirm health offer but subjects for terrible torments: imagination cannot conceive the reality. One incident I must, however, note. *Yesterday I saw four men grouped together, hands and legs frozen, minds yet vigorous, and two dogs tearing their feet.*

I arrived at Wilna just as the Marshal was going to dine. From the plains of misery I passed to the banquet.

After dinner I found my quarters—a magnificent summer palace, but a winter ice-house; no fire-place, and only one stove; so that there are eighteen degrees of frost in the room in which I am obliged to sit and to rest at night.

Here I heard of Lord Tyrconnel's being sick in the house of an English Professor in the University of Wilna. I immediately went to see him, and found

that he had been very ill, but was recovering. He will not, however, be able to quit Wilna for some time. Soon afterwards I heard of Woronzow's arrival, and dined with him this day. He is in excellent health, and scarcely limps. Admiral Tchichagow had only gone away half an hour before I called upon him. We both wish much to meet, but I shall soon follow him if he passes the Niemen, which is yet doubtful.

This evening I went to the play, and was almost frozen. As it was a state occasion I was obliged to remain till the conclusion; but my teeth chattered again, and when I rose to go I could scarcely use my limbs. There was not one lady in the house, which added to the wretchedness.

I now come to my quarters, and although sitting close to the stove my feet are as ice, and my hand can scarcely hold the pen. I have, however, much to write, and must write the greater part of this night again to be ready for the courier. It is a critical moment, and want of energy may be very injurious yet to Russia.

December 26th, Wilna.

On the 20th died George, Earl of Tyrconnel, aged twenty-five years. Few persons ever enjoyed so good a reputation without exciting envy. None will ever have been more sincerely regretted. Commonly men without enemies are automatons, without independent thought or energy of action. Lord Tyrconnel had a vigour of mind which was polished with so much urbanity, that the exertion of it never alarmed the pride of others. His conduct at S. Petersburg, in several

very delicate transactions, proved his power of executing with decision the conclusions of his judgment. His public correspondence will show that he was more highly qualified for public employment than was generally presumed; and converse with him certified that he must have devoted many an hour to reading, which might have been supposed, from his love of society, to have passed less profitably.

On the 22nd the corpse was carried to the grave, escorted by two companies of the Imperial Guards, and interred with every honour that could be shown. I was, of course, chief mourner. The scene was solemn, and the tones of the music were irresistibly affecting. The human mind is strangely organized; existing misery is seldom participated with deep sympathy, but fanciful woe melts the obduracy of habit and philosophy.

"It is a strange world!" Adam is reported to have said when he entered into it; and so the last man will say.

I had the mournful occupation afterwards of making the necessary arrangements for disposal of property, &c.

I did in all things as I would be done by, when there was no sufficient rule to guide me; and I hope the family will be satisfied that all has been done not only for the best, but, under the circumstances, in the best way.

In the evening the Emperor glided into the town. The next morning there was a great levee. The Emperor made a speech, thanked the officers for their services, and reproved the University for its disloyalty. His Majesty also alluded to the future, and

encouraged the hope of a continued campaign to the Vistula.

Yesterday was the Emperor's birthday.

Parade, a confidential conference* with the Emperor, mess, and twenty-five degrees of frost, were the incidents of the morning. The Marshal gave a great state dinner to the Emperor afterwards, on the occasion of his receiving *the Order of St. George of the First Class.*

"It is a strange world," quoth Adam again: and so will his posterity again say.

Glory for me has lost all her charms. I shall become a Timon from contempt of the world's puppets. Happy are they who know not the arcana of the mechanism that conducts the world's affairs. Happy are they who never reason on causes or effects.

The entertainment was splendid, and the coup-d'œil rare. Thought was my chief banquet on this occasion, and I feasted sumptuously. The knife and fork, however, occasionally took advantage of a vacuum.

In the evening there was a ball, which was attended by about thirty ladies, several very handsome; and those who were not so had all the attractions of their country—variety, figure, taste in dress, and grace of movement.

I did not dance at first, for reasons, as I thought, of propriety, when the Emperor came up twice to me and noticed my forbearance, in a manner that admitted of no longer non-compliance with his expectations. It was, indeed, a *particular day*, and the Marshal's ball; so I ought to have considered the feelings of others rather than my own—to have remembered

* See 'Narrative,' p. 356.

that I was a public, not a private person on that occasion.

I danced the Polonaise, Parade, Promenade, and one country dance. After the Emperor retired I was obliged to remain a little while, from a continuation of the same policy.

I had the satisfaction of finding old England high in favour with the Polish ladies. Dr. Clarke has roused up ancient charges against our general national habits, and the French agents have been busy in all quarters to give them credit. The Polish ladies, however, are adamant to the calumny; they admire the spirit of England. They think us, indeed, the indirect cause of their misfortunes, but they reverence the national pride which sustains the conflict. Our originalities are no defects in their eyes, but proofs of independence, and envy with them is not deepened by hatred. There are very few among them who have not been at Vienna, very few who have not there known Englishmen whom they esteemed. It must not be supposed that I write this from a casual observation, or that it is a superficial and solitary opinion. I have far stronger grounds, and very solid reasons for my opinion. I cannot, however, explain them.

30*th.*—Sickness has made very serious progress in this city. In fifteen days nine thousand prisoners have died, and in *one eighteen hours seven hundred.* The mortality has extended of course to the inhabitants. The physicians have ordered straw to be burnt before every house, but the pestilential atmosphere is not to be corrected by such lenitives; and as if fate resolved to spread the contagion to the utmost, there has been a thaw for the last twenty-four hours.

In the spring Wilna must be a complete charnel-house. All the carcasses which are removed from the streets and hospitals are laid at a short distance from the town in great masses; and then such parts as the wolves have not devoured during the winter will throw pestiferous miasmata back upon the city, which, from its position, is always shrouded in vapour. I rode yesterday round the town to look at the camp which the enemy proposed to trace, and in all directions I saw mountains of human bodies, and carcasses of beasts. Disgusting as the sight was, I could not help occasionally stopping to contemplate the attitudes in which those who had been frozen had died. The greater part happened to have been writhing with some agony at the instant their hearts' blood congealed; some were raised upon their hands with their heads bent back and their eyes uplifted, as if still imploring aid from the passers-by.

Desgenettes tells me that the loss of the enemy to Wilna amounted to two hundred thousand men, and he thus confirmed my calculation.

Among our prisoners are no less than fifty-one generals. The names are all published, and will, no doubt, appear in the English papers, as I have sent a copy to Lord Cathcart. The son of the Duke of Castanos is also taken.

The Emperor's kindness has anticipated my intentions with regard to him. Young Dufort is another distinguished captive. He is more unfortunate than his comrade, having had his hand frozen and two fingers yesterday amputated.

Every day some property belonging to the enemy is discovered, or we have proofs of its destruction.

Amongst the most important of the former, I consider many copies of a work entitled 'Progrès de la Puissance Russe,' which were found in Maret's (Duke of Bassano's) house, and which were published under the immediate superintendence of the French Government. I have sent a copy to Lord Grey. I am quoted several times towards the conclusion; but Clarke is repeatedly cited to prove the representation which the author makes of the Russian character. France will long rue the publication. It is an exposition of the policy of France with regard to Russia, which admits of no after explanation to mitigate the immediate impression, or *remove the rancour which it has generated in the minds of the Emperor and his Cabinet.* Buonaparte has put the *comble* to his Russian errors by this indiscretion.

There are, however, some of the notes of Clarke and others which will prejudice English popularity in Russia. Nations are as sensitive to ridicule and sarcasm as women are to the insult of neglect or contempt. A caricature delineation of national character and habits is never forgiven. The *amour propre* so wounded is as vengeful as the "*spretæ injuria formæ.*"

At Wilna Buonaparte burnt his state tent lined with shawls, &c., all his table-linen, his state bed, &c. Here also were buried or destroyed all the trophies that he took from Moscow. Desgenettes, however, tells me that he had previously ordered drawings to be taken of them, and that he intends to re-make them at Paris. Even the cross which he took from the great church at Moscow, and which broke in its descent, was here partly abandoned. Had he carried

it away entire and set it up at Paris, when the whole truth, as I have written to Mr. Liston, blazed upon its story, the people of France would have regarded it as a memorial of their misfortunes and their disgrace: a fraud will but add to the reproach.

The news of the day is that Beningsen and Tolly are both coming back to the army, and that Tchichagow, whose pursuit of the enemy to Wilna after the passage of the Beresina was a lesson to us of energy, is to take place of Romanzow, whose *state-health* does not admit of his further continuation in office—"Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit."

January 5th, 1813.—A variety of matters has engaged my time since the date of my former notes. Every hour is now big with some interest, and engages some application.

I had the satisfaction of receiving despatches from Mr. Liston the day before yesterday, by the return of Captain Fanshaw as far as Moghilev, where he is put in quarantine. By a letter from him I find that Mr. Levy, Count Fogassiera, my dragoons, and Anthony, are en route; but they had been driven back on their way to Varna by a heavy gale of wind. I expect them in about a month.

The winter had been severe in Turkey, and the Grand Vizir had lost a third of his army in the passage of the Balkan. I only received the despatches, but not the private letters, so I know nothing of the fashionable news, but I had a hint that no *grand dinners* had been given.

Mr. Liston specifically states the advantage of my continued correspondence as a check to Andreossi, who had already obtained a most fatal influence.

I send these despatches* to England. His Majesty's Government will have further reason to see that I have been a useful public servant and merit that consideration without which I will not remain, although I enjoy here the sunshine of the most gracious favour, *most loyally established.*

In a private audience which I had of the Emperor the day before yesterday, I had good reason to admire him, and to be proud of the conduct which I have pursued.

It is impossible for me to record the conversation, but I had the satisfaction of knowing that he accorded with my opinion on every subject.

The defection of the Prussians is a most important event. It is not only the diminution of the enemy's strength by fifteen thousand men and fifty cannon, but it opens a great field, and unhinges Buonaparte's system.

If my suggestions thereupon are adopted we shall have clear ground to the Elbe very soon.

The troops are on march from every point. This morning I attended the Emperor to see eight thousand guards inspected. I never saw men in higher order, and perhaps never such a fine body of men. After such a campaign their appearance was perfectly marvellous, and the martial character of the scene was augmented by the number of dead that covered the ground.

The Emperor has given Desgenettes his liberty at my intercession. This is very agreeable to me, and I beg Lord Hutchinson may be told that I derive further satisfaction as I know he will be pleased.

The sickness still continues, but its effects, from

* See Appendix.

want of victims, daily decrease. My adjutant is a little better, and my Spaniards are, I hope, all safe. They certainly have been rescued from death, and they are very grateful. I have asked that the hundred and fifty capable of moving may be sent to Memel, and there await the opportunity of embarkation.

I have just received more letters from Constantinople, but of very old date.

Private.—I was very glad to have such proofs of the family's progress in the art of scribbling and particularly to have such good report of their conduct.

The death of Prince George of Oldenburg* has been much regretted. His brother had just come back to us. We concealed the actual catastrophe from him, but recommended him to visit his brother who was dangerously ill.—His journey was necessary for various arrangements, and the Emperor wished his departure for the consolation of his sister, the Grand Duchess, who is thus left a young, and still beautiful, widow in real affliction.

This evening we have had advices from Warsaw, but as the Russians are at Tykoczyn, and the Prussians have opened their left flank, I think the leaders will not make desperate battle, especially as they are weary of French connection. The presence of the Austrians may sustain them for a while, but *Austria will probably prefer other engagements.*

I find the Polish women the greatest patriots. But they are chiefly resolved on having a Court, and they

* See Appendix. Letter of the Duke of Oldenburg to Sir Robert Wilson.

do not much care who presides if that object be obtained. The French counterfeit *royalty* is here of as much value as the old *coinage*.

January 10th, Merecz.

In the evening of the 8th,—after having visited my Spaniards in the hospitals; after having passed masses of dead, dying, and filth that horrify me by recollection; after having given two hundred ducats to Colonel O'Donnell for a detachment of three hundred Spaniards, and one hundred ducats to twenty Piedmontese officers for their clothing and maintenance to Memel, whither the Emperor, at my request, has ordered them, when they can move there; after having made arrangements for the protection of a nephew of Mrs. Robert Adair (the ambassador's wife), who was here in extreme misery; after having saved him and clothed him, and done the same by an English sailor, whom the French marched from Königsberg with five others; after having obtained Desgenettes' release, and advanced to him two hundred ducats, part of which was to be appropriated to the use of young Fontanges and the two sons of the Minister of Holland; after having taken leave of my Polish friends, with whom I hope not to have diminished opinion previously entertained of the English; after having adjusted a mass of public business, and cleared all official correspondence to the day of departure; after having had a long conversation with the Prussian general, Kleist, who had made the convention with General Yorck; after having again looked at the spot where my long-to-be-regretted friend reposes in peace,—I mounted my horse, very near dusk, in company with Dawson. My

Russian aide-de-camp, still ill of his fever, was immovable in his bed.

We rode forty wersts, and, conducted by a favouring star that guided us a little out of our road, we reached a major of dragoons, who hospitably received us. The next morning, at day-break, we rode the same distance, and arrived several hours before the Emperor. All other generals and almost all other officers perform their journeys in traineaux or carriages, covered with furs and furbelows, but since Moscow I have always ridden without a rag of additional covering other than my blue great-coat, except in heavy snow, when I have put on my Cossack bourka.

I confess that there is some vanity in this deviation from general practice, but it is in its effect beneficial.

General Tormanssow being obliged to give up his quarters in consequence of some bad arrangement which excluded the Marshal from a habitation, I shared mine with him, and was very happy to pay this attention to a very respectable and agreeable old man—old in years but in constitution a youth.

The next day I proceeded to this place, memorable for the death of John Sobieski. But I could not find one inhabitant who had ever heard of this heroic king. So fleeting is fame and so limited!

Here I became possessed of the survey of the river Niemen, a work more beautifully drawn than any person here had ever seen. It was taken in Berthier's portefeuille. I immediately sent it to the Emperor; writing, that "although in my hands it would never be prejudicial to the interests of Russia, I did not think it my duty to withhold it from his Majesty's possession." This proceeding was different from Dr.

Clarke's with a chart of the Black Sea, which, by-the-bye, our Government never had; at least, Mr. Perceval denied it.

January 17th, Sukleva.

At night Charles arrived and brought me a great packet of letters from all quarters. I was very glad to see him and to have his despatches, public and private. There was a variety of the agreeable and the unsatisfactory, but the agreeable prevailed. I was particularly pleased to receive my family correspondence, as I had long been a stranger to all communication with England.

I was very sensible of Mrs. Carleton's admission of my historical veracity and consideration; but the capture of Desgenettes has given such additional authority, or rather such extended authority, that she need be no longer under uneasiness as to my power of authenticating my charges whenever the time is fitting: only I must not sacrifice honourable individuals. The testimony is lodged now with persons who will give evidence whenever I deem it right to call upon them, should the principal witness die before the investigation can take place, not merely as to the proposition but the execution. Desgenettes is, however, from his character, no doubt, the most valuable witness.

I have not read Dr. Clarke's book, but if he merely states that the Turks at Jaffa knew nothing of the poisoning of the sick, I dare say he states a fact; for how should the Turks be acquainted with the circumstances of a secret transaction? They could not speak the language of the dying, and probably had no communication with the hospitals: their ignorance

or knowledge of the report makes nothing for or against. But the fact does not rest upon probabilities: there is a positive declaration of the parties, at one time boldly proclaimed, and now continued, but with more caution from the fear of power. Mrs. C. does not mention whether Dr. Clarke denies the massacre of the prisoners. I should hope he does not, for his own sake, as that charge admits of no doubt. Even Andreossi admitted it to Sir Sidney Smith in London, and I have the names of fifty persons—many of them French generals—who wished, in some instances, to defend it as an act of necessary precaution.

At Merecz, Prince Czartorinsky sent to me a friend to converse on a very important matter, and a most interesting letter. I have sent the communication and one of *my letters* on the subject.

From Merecz we have been proceeding by regular marches to this place, where we are halting for one day. The main army is proceeding on Wittenberg. Wittgenstein is at Königsberg checking the French at Pillau and at Marienwerder. Tchichagow is moving across an old theatre to approach us at Wittenberg; and Sacken and Doctorow's, late Ertel's, corps, are moving between the Narew and the Boug. The total force makes about a hundred thousand men. The wreck is powerful from moral energy, but it is only a wreck. How many thousands would have been saved by the opportune sacrifice of a few hundreds at Wiazma and Krasnoi. Whoever reads the twenty-ninth bulletin, and has read my previous opinions and reports, must admit that I entertained a just view of the enemy's state, and suggested the measures best adapted to the occasion.

Had I commanded ten thousand, or I might almost say five thousand men, Buonaparte would never again have sat on the throne of France.

This is not a fanfaronade. I do not mean by the monosyllable, *I*, to place *myself* in undue prominence, but to exemplify the frequent and facile power of concluding the revolutionary war, which was offered to any one who should have been authorised to act. There was only one Russian officer who did not feel ambitious to accomplish the achievement. There were various ways of attaining this successful issue—there was only one way of avoiding it—and that one was selected by the Agamemnon of the host.

We have now doubtful enterprises to undertake. We have now formidable impediments to overcome; and if Austria does not join us, in my opinion, these impediments are invincible to the Russians *alone*, even under able direction. Already the enemy outnumbers us; already we need plans of strategy and all the energy of our means. The truncheon, however, remains in the hands of an unsubstantial phantom, who has neither principle, military talent, nor personal resolution. The genius of Russia is powerful and prodigal of protection; but the genius of Russia must have tractable and efficient engines successfully to conduct a campaign against skill and force.

The day before yesterday, at six o'clock, as I was rising from my bench, for I have not slept on a bed or even straw for a hundred and twenty odd nights, I saw a flame in an oven, which I thought was too ardent. I, however, undressed to put on clean linen, and, when without clothes, I heard from the outside a cry of "fire." I was obliged to sally out from the

hut without anything on my feet and without *inexpressibles* in a cold of twenty degrees. The fire had already gained the roof. We cleared all our goods and chattels out as fast as possible, and had the good fortune to save the hut also by throwing snow into the flames. We had just re-entered, miserably cold with wet on all sides from melted snow that momentarily iced, when a second alarm occasioned a second removal; but it was not so necessary, and we again possessed ourselves of what might be called still a dark dungeon.

Charles, who had been accustomed to some hardships, confessed that he had never seen such inconvenience in war as we are now enduring from vile lodging, filth, and cold; but if he had been in Russia with us, he would have thought himself here in a comparative paradise. I wish some of His Majesty's ministers could but pass a night with us. They would learn a lesson useful to those they employ in these countries.

January 20th, Lyk.

Another chimney was on fire in my house on the 18th; I fortunately, however, put it out myself. The people of the house were in fault. To keep the room warm they had perforated the board which stops up the chimney, thinking that the smoke would pass through and the flame would not reach. The night was a miserable one. Several Jew children *croaked* from sunset to daybreak; I have now declared permanent war—and I feel Herodian—whatever may be the cruelty in removing them.

We have now entered Prussia. The country is

much improved and the people far cleaner and better clothed and lodged. A Prussian officer, in his zeal for the service and in gratitude for a kindness which I proposed to show him and his wife about a quarter, has already made me benefit by the change of nation. He has given me Schroetter's map of Prussia: no money could now buy it. Any other present I should have refused, but a map was too seductive. This morning Captain Fanshaw arrived from Constantinople, bringing me letters* from Count Ludolf and Count Italinsky, with most ample recognition of the service I have rendered the general interests by my correspondence sent to Constantinople. He tells me that Mr. Levy is charged from the Capitan Pacha with one of the most flattering letters that could be written by a Mahometan chief and friend, and various presents for me; and that the new Grand Vizir, who is also an old Egyptian friend, expressed the greatest regard and attachment. So my Turkish interest in that country has not been affected by the late changes in the Government. I am sorry to find that Mr. Liston is very unwell and much broken; I do not think he can live long, and Fanshaw says all are of that opinion. He is an excellent, worthy man and a zealous minister, but his successor should be one of a different mould, and, if possible, a military person.

Buonaparte, by his selection of Andreossi and Sebastiani, has shown his knowledge of Turkey. The time is coming when a military resident will be of more importance than heretofore, but there are many personal objections to that station.

Marshal Kutusow is very unwell; Count Wittgen-

* Appendix to 'Narrative,' Nos. 24, 26.

stein has declared himself so, but I believe he is only a little chagrined at Admiral Tchichagow's being nominated commander over him. As this, however, was but a temporary measure, I make no doubt all will soon be well with him; and whether the Marshal lives or dies, I believe the Emperor will make very good arrangements for the executive army.

Dawson has been unwell. I have therefore sent him to repose and refresh at Königsberg for a few days, taking advantage of his movement in that direction to acquire intelligence, which will be very interesting, on all subjects.

A few days will elucidate what is yet involved in mystery. It is the second great epoch. The interests of Europe rest upon the decision of this moment. France has no longer an offensive power, if Europe does not voluntarily contribute to reconstruct a system against which she has contended so many years and expended in the struggle so much blood and treasure.

January 28th, Wittenberg.

We arrived here yesterday. That day six years Buonaparte entered this town to commence the operations which ended in the battle of Eylau. What a revolution of events!

The ride to Johannisberg was so cold on the 24th that my nose and cheeks again froze. Charles did not escape with impunity. To this hour I have several knots in my cheeks, which when touched cause most acute pain.

The next ride might have been a more fatal one. I was *alarmingly petrified*, and for some time very sick indeed from agony. An old woman saved me from

extreme calamity by rubbing more than half an hour. The Emperor, hearing of my distress and danger, sent Wylie, who ordered additional embrocations. The *crone* moaned over me with touching, yet almost laughable, sympathy.

This day we received the important intelligence of Austria having made an unlimited armistice with the Russians; of her having, moreover, agreed to evacuate the duchy and retire within her own frontier. At the same time General Kleist arrived, and brought us the agreeable intelligence of the King of Prussia, with his family and guards, having gone to Breslau.

Europe has thus again another brilliant hope, founded upon pretensions more solidly established than any which former coalitions favoured. We have now to pass the Vistula with all expedition between Warsaw and Plock. The Poles can make no effectual resistance. The French have their head-quarters at Posen, and must be too much alarmed for their communications to assist in the defence of Warsaw. I presume that city will be occupied by convention.

Count Wittgenstein is ordered to take Dantzic, if practicable; I think he will succeed by escalade, if the garrison does not number fifteen thousand under arms.

The King of Prussia will probably act in concert with Austria. He has forty thousand men in Silesia, and his garrisons are well stored; he can raise forty thousand more in Pomerania; there are eighteen thousand with us, and at Colberg as many. This is a formidable military aid in the state of France, which must make another conscription to maintain the ports beyond her frontier, even if Austria is a passive spectatress; but that policy is now improbable. She would

not excite vengeance without securing some positions and additional means to resist its violence. I rather suspect that her first acquisition is, the part of Gallicia added to Russia, and the promise of the Turkish *nibblings* being restored to Moldavia. Under every point of view it is a promising moment.

I counted little upon our military powers; the direction, I knew, would be unskilful, and our means daily decreased by sickness. We have not now above two hundred men a battalion; but all goes well when fortune is friendly.

I saw an English merchant from Königsberg this day. He tells me that trade was there almost extinct, but that there is great want of coal, of blue, green, and grey cloth, and indeed of all manufactured goods. I can add another need of great profit—bottled porter.

Pillau has not yet surrendered, but the garrison has already offered to quit the place if they may go to Dantzic, which has been refused. However, before the ice permits the entrance of vessels, Pillau will be in the hands of the Russians, and the Minister Stein has already gone to Königsberg to open the port under that assurance. There is also no doubt of Colberg hoisting the flag of defiance to France.

The ensuing campaign will be a very interesting one, but I do not think Buonaparte can collect sufficient forces after the Austrian and Prussian defection to make it very obstinately contested in the early part.

Now, I wish to have a responsible station in the great theatre—at all events an accredited one. I am ready to serve in Europe, anywhere and everywhere; but I must have that recognition by my own Government which is due to my rank, service, and powers of

future utility. I have great personal attachments in the Russian armies, but I have no want of friends or consideration in the Austrian or Prussian, nor in their governments. I give the preference where I can most contribute to the general success.

February 5th, Plock or Polotzk on the Vistula.

The rides from Willenburg to Mlawa, and from Mlawa to Radzanow, were particularly severe. In the former Charles's nose froze severely once and mine twice; in the latter my ear was frozen, and yet remains greatly frozen and very sore. I do not think that a Marshal's staff would tempt me to make another campaign in this climate. At Mlawa, Morland, the King's messenger from Vienna, came to my quarters; he left the next morning for S. Petersburg. He is a phenomenon of health and activity at sixty-six years of age. Here I received some letters from England, one of which offered me a thousand guineas for my papers relative to this campaign. I answered that I was a public servant and could not publish without the sanction of His Majesty's Government, which I should not ask for, nor deem it expedient to make use of if granted. I never write from pecuniary stimulants; other feelings must prompt me to undertake any military work, but the events of this campaign will never be traced by me during my life for the public. A variety of circumstances imperatively forbids the communication of my view of the past.

I felt, however, flattered by Mr. Gifford's offer to revise the press.*

* The sum actually offered was 1250*l.*, by one eminent publisher: another offered a carte-blanche for the papers; and Mr. Gifford, editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' offered to "revise the press."—ED.

At Radnazow I was quartered in a mendicant Jew's house or cell. He and his wife wore more rags than all England's rag-fairs ever presented in two garments. Glory was overshadowed: and, as I lay shivering during the night on two planks, each eight inches wide and one four inches higher than the other, I lamented that I had not some Downing-street friends as companions.

At Mlawa we had re-entered Polish territory, and the change from royal Prussia was very sensible. The Palinot theorists would be strangely surprised to see despotism and comfort, and freedom and misery connect in pairs, and in cordial union in these countries. It is not the consequence of Poland's partition, but Poland must always have presented the same scene of independent spirit and loathsome wretchedness.

At Dobrzyn, the next march, I had such another frightful den that I determined to proceed thirty wersts further, and I came yesterday to this town, which is situated on a lofty bank above the Vistula, here about five hundred yards wide, but now ice-bound. There are about five thousand inhabitants, and many of the houses are very good. In the hospital we found about a hundred and twenty half-frozen Bavarians; all have had some amputation. Seven thousand Bavarians, of ten thousand who had only marched *towards* the Niemen, had returned by Plock. Three thousand had perished on the route, and the party left here could be transported no further.

The remaining seven thousand had marched to Glogau, and all declared here that they would never pass the Vistula again.

This morning I went to see the public seminary, where above two hundred boys are being instructed in arithmetic, mathematics, Greek, and French. Latin, German, and writing are also taught. In every room where there was a class, one of Lemaistre's boards, with chalked themes or figures, was suspended; and the masters assured me that this system had existed many years. I was very much surprised and pleased to see such good arrangements for education as I here observed; they have caused great proficiency in the scholars. The mode of teaching mathematics might be most usefully introduced in our public schools. I asked and obtained a holiday for the boys. The joy was great; and the head boy came out and thanked me in the most gracious manner.

While I was thus here almost alone, a report came to the Emperor that the Poles had proposed to disguise a party as Cossacks, and enter the head-quarters. He ordered a battalion and guns to remain always at his residence. Various persons also here cautioned the Emperor against going out and about unattended, as "les têtes sont très exaltées de plusieurs Polonois dans ces environs."

The seizure or death of Alexander would not benefit the Polish cause, but ensure immediate ruin to the country. Vengeance would rage with exterminating fury; I do not, therefore, credit the Cassandras. The Poles are hostile to the Russians as enemies to their freedom and nationalization: of that there is no doubt; but they have no personal enmity to the Emperor: they might propose a "Sicilian Vespers," but not an individual assassination.

Yesterday, General Barclay de Tolly rejoined the army. All is hocus-pocus in the Russian counsels. Russia, however, has a very brave officer again in employ. She will need every hand very soon to repair the want of a head. I am glad, therefore, to see preparation.

During the course of the day I also visited the Polish gaol. I was desirous of seeing whether the public establishments of this country justify the political pretensions of the people. I found all the cells airy, and yet sufficiently warm; the food good, and the superintendence effectual for the nourishment of the unfortunate tenants; but I objected to the want of proper gaol clothing, as several of the malefactors were in rags, and the neglect of cleanliness must produce disease.

I also judged that Polish criminals could not be very desperate men, or the strongest cells in this gaol would not hold them a single night. All the fastenings are so slight, and the facilities of escape so inviting, that I was much surprised to find that any men ever awaited execution; and still more so to hear that sometimes a condemned wretch remained here tranquilly three years; for the laws in Poland are so defective as to allow of appeals to the Court of Cassation, at Warsaw, and afterwards to the King, which protracts the final sentence, if the culprit wishes, to the stated period. Punishment, inflicted after so long a time, is deprived of its chief value, deterring example; and spectators must think that they see the sword of vengeance, rather than of justice, fall upon the neck of the sufferer.

Willanova, Palace of John Sobieski, six wersts from Warsaw.

On the 6th Charles and I proceeded on our route from Plock. We went thirty-five wersts, and came to General Doctorow's head-quarters, where we passed the night; the next morning proceeded to the corps blockading Modlin. General Passkewitch went with us to reconnoitre the fortress, in which were three thousand Poles, some French artillerists, and two thousand Saxons. Charles went to the right to take a sketch of the works. When he had got very close, the French perceived him, and fired repeatedly. He was several times covered with the earth which the shot struck up. I had also their salutes from another battery, but with less precision. The place is a very important one, not only from its actual command of the Vistula and the Boug, but from its neighbourhood to Warsaw. All the works are not complete, but it is most respectable. Charles's drawing was sent to the Marshal, with some remarks: they will probably induce a partial attempt that may incommode the enemy.

We proceeded twenty wersts further, and took up our night's quarters with General Kanow. This morning we joined General Milaradowitch, who was quartered in a house where the hostess talked faster and shriller than any dame I ever heard in my life. After breakfast we rode ten wersts, and arrived at an apartment where the deputation from Warsaw came to present the keys of the city. General Milaradowitch and Baron Arnsted received the magistrates very well, made the most of the opportunity, and dexterously avoided any proposition to quarter troops in the town—which in good truth, from *weakness*, could not be done.

The whole of the Russian army, from the Baltic to the left, which is now on the Cracow road near Petrikau, does not amount to sixty thousand men. This force has to check the garrison of Pillau, where there are three thousand men; Dantzic, with fourteen thousand; Thorn, with six thousand; Modlin, with five thousand; and fourteen thousand French and Saxons at Petrikau under Regnier; ten thousand Poles at the same post under Poniatowski; thirty thousand French at Posen, with their advance at Goshna; seven thousand Bavarians on the Glogau route; the unruly population of Warsaw: and to occupy various points in the alignment of the Vistula.

I cannot as yet allow the corps of Yorck to be an auxiliary corps; but I deduct the Austrians, who however engage, and will engage, attention until they actually turn into Gallicia and declare themselves at peace with Russia.

It may excite surprise how, with such means, Warsaw came to be abandoned. The answer is, that Austria found herself more interested in the Russian propositions for her advantage than in resistance against Russia and the feelings of all the Austrian officers and men.

Warsaw has no doubt been a very important acquisition. By a letter of the President of the Senate, which we have intercepted, it appears that the King of Saxony loses by its capture two millions of florins, that it is fatal to all the State establishments, and most pernicious in its moral effects upon all classes. He adds: "Beauharnois promises to make a movement from Posen to succour us, but it is now mustard after supper."

The town surrendered unconditionally. Near two thousand Austrians are left in the hospitals, and four thousand French and Poles, who are prisoners of war. Prince Schwartzenberg wished to have stipulated for their liberty and for other terms favourable to Warsaw, but Baron Arnsted refused to admit them, after having previously assured himself that the bargain was already struck and could not be broken for such minor considerations.

The possession of Warsaw is entirely due to diplomacy. The military means of obtaining the city did not exist after the fatal march from Minsk to Wilna.

All the great Poles have left Warsaw, but few of the inhabitants of the inferior order have done so. The Senate, and, indeed, the greater part of the fugitives, have gone to Petrikau, and from thence to Cracow, where they expect certain shelter. Their protection, however, depends on Prussia; and Prussia gives but a precarious hope, according to the belief at the Imperial head-quarters. Certainly the denouement of the enemy's campaign will be most extraordinary; as yet the champions cannot be arrayed. I shall, however, feel great inquietude if we advance without the possession of Thorn, Dantzic, or Modlin. The ground is too hard to be worked for six weeks; the broken ice descending the Vistula will prevent the formation of bridges for a fortnight after the river bonds are loosened, and we must depend on fortune rather than force.

The French exaggerate their numbers and exertions so grossly, that there is no positive confidence to be placed in their statements; but if they can advance to Posen five thousand cavalry and fifteen thousand

more infantry—in addition to the thirty thousand already there—before the 20th of this month, we shall be greatly embarrassed to maintain ourselves beyond the Vistula bank; and when we are there, if we have no bridge or têtes-du-pont, we shall have additional difficulties. I must repeat again, that according to all military calculations, independently of secret policy, we are unequal for six weeks to the necessary operations for the security of the positions we now occupy. I hear, however, that it is the intention to advance on the 15th.

After the deputation had offered all the generals quarters in their houses and a town dinner, which were refused, we went to Willanova, ten wersts from Warsaw. I was very unwilling to go so far, but sometimes that which is reluctantly undertaken, proves in the end very agreeable; so it was with Willanova, which I found to be the Palace of John Sobieski, now in possession of Countess Potoski daughter of the Marshal Czartorinsky. The centre is the ancient residence of this celebrated sovereign; the wings, which are brought forward, are modern. The tout ensemble is the most magnificent establishment that I know of in the hands of an individual. I could employ several sheets of paper in a description of all its magnificence, and the valuable property treasured in it. I have, however, not leisure: and I shall only note that I was most struck in the old building with the bed of the King; by the preservation of all his apartments in the same state in which he left it, so that every moment the royal owner was recalled by some forcible impression; by a valuable gallery of pictures, many of them *most natural*; by a richly inlaid cabinet, and by

some very fine ancient editions of the classics. In the modern apartments, I had to admire everything but the want of mahogany furniture.

My quarters were most splendid, but I was bitterly cold all night, although I did not undress, and brought my sofa to the wood-fire side. I regretted the ovens and stoves of the Jews' hovels during darkness.

Baron Arnsted is here by the Emperor's desire. He told me that Lord Cathcart would now be allowed to come up; "*but more for show than use*," was the Baron's addition. Indeed, he frankly said what the Emperor and Baron Bügberg did last campaign relative to myself. The fact is, "the times are extraordinary, and require men of pliable form to take advantage of them, not professors of an unbending old school: Lord Cathcart means extremely well, but he shuns responsibility and hates exertion."

In the course of my conversations with Baron Arnsted, I learnt an extraordinary anecdote. When Walpole presented himself to the Count Metternich at Vienna, the Count said: "If you come on the part of the English, I prefer to treat with Lord Wellesley; if you come as a Russian, I would rather negotiate with Count Stackelberg."

This is a very strong proof of the estimation in which the present British Government is held.

February 10th, Warsaw.

I arrived here this morning with the intention of staying in the town two days, and then returning to the Imperial head-quarters, where I hear Lord Walpole is come; but I hope he will, at my request, proceed here, in which case I shall remain a day longer.

This residence is particularly interesting. I acquire most valuable information of all descriptions, as every one of every country regards me as a common friend.

The Austrians, as I suspect, are marching, by *private arrangement*, to their Gallicia; but the Austrian head-quarters will, for a short time, be at Konitz. The Austrian Government will probably then declare their peace with Russia, *which is made without any direct engagement for co-operation;* but the force of circumstances will, I think, accomplish the rest.

The Austrian Government could no longer control the will of the army, which is so strong that the officers almost refused to serve, even to save appearances. Indeed, the aide-de-camp of General Meyer told me that if I ever saw him drawing a sword against the Russians again, I might "spit in his face;" and he declared to me that there was a common sentiment of the same character through the whole of Schwartzenberg's army.

The Saxons, &c., under Regnier, are gone to Glogau. The King of Prussia has promised to throw off the mask early in the spring. I do not know the measures which he proposes to adopt for separation and action, but his assurance is positive.

This mass of intelligence I proposed to give more in detail; but an Austrian General has just called on me to say that he was going off to S. Petersburg this night, and I could not lose the opportunity of security for my correspondence so far.

I have just been dining with all the Russian Generals of the different corps assembled here; and we had a very festive day. To-morrow I give them an entertainment.

The occupation of Warsaw is a memorable political and military event: but it is also personally remarkable; for here for the first time since I left S. Petersburg, on the 15th of September last (a hundred and fifty nights), shall I have pulled off my clothes at night, or slept upon a bed.

The thaw is now rapid. This circumstance may check our movement on the 3rd, which is still intended, but probably only for a few days. If we once establish our bridges, I shall have no alarm.

February 16th, Kladova.

During my stay in Warsaw, where I remained until the 14th, I employed every moment usefully or agreeably except one in which I very nearly perished while walking on the middle of the Vistula, by the ice yielding and cracking for many yards around me, and giving totally away whenever I removed my step. I never remember to have passed a more embarrassing five minutes. I was saved at last by the Cossacks putting and fastening several lances together, and thus floating and drawing me to firmer portions of the ice-bed.

Political feelings indisposed the Polish families who remained to the Russians; but I was not only received but sent for by all who were worth knowing, and again had to be proud of British estimation. To be an Englishman is a letter of credit which no rank, no introduction, can procure a foreigner. An Englishman is at once admitted, on the faith of his national character, to the regard and confidence which others must prove themselves worthy of possessing before they can acquire them; and even the most favoured of other

countries are never allowed such latitude, nor do they ever obtain such favours as the English. Woe to him who trespasses to the prejudice of his country! Shame be to him who does not augment the fund upon which he drew when a stranger and unknown!

At the house of the Countess Alexander Potoski née Tichawich, whose husband is one of the richest nobles, I learnt many curious anecdotes. Amongst them, that when Buonaparte went to Dresden he sent for the king, obliged him, who never in his life stirred from his palace after dark, to come to him in a chair at midnight, received him in bed, and made him remain three hours; solely to prove that he exacted in adversity more than the homage he required in prosperity.

On another occasion, speaking of the French, he said to the Countess A. Potoski, "I have them, Madame, always in my pocket; I can do with them as I will, only by operating upon their imaginations." This speech was made before his suite, who hung down their heads in humiliation.

I cannot attempt to describe the city, which possesses more palaces and bad houses than any city I know. I shall only observe that the establishments of the nobles are magnificent, and the houses are fitted up with a taste and costliness which are unknown in England. The city in its external appearance, and, I believe, in all its internal concerns, has suffered considerably from war, and the streets are crowded with mendicants of every description, but particularly mutilated men. I went to visit the hospitals. The Polish were in good order; the French frightful. I went to the theatre once, when I saw a good ballet and a handsome building lighted with patent lamps. I in-

dulged twice in the use of the warm baths, which for extent and arrangement would not have dishonoured Rome.

The melancholy duty of attending the funeral of the Austrian General Meyer,—a brother knight also of Maria Theresa,—who died here after a few days' illness, brought to my observation a churchyard of catacombs, excavated, or rather formed by rows of arches in the walls. When the coffin is placed in its tenement, a brass or marble plate closes the door of that compartment of the sepulchre, and records the names, titles, and virtues—for all are described as virtuous—&c., of the tenant. There were five ranges, one above another, in the walls which I saw, but they might, of course, be carried higher, and the coffin lifted and placed in its separate receptacle by machinery.

If I were an architect I should certainly speculate upon such a cemetery in England, and I will build one for family service wherever I fix my residence as a lord of the soil. It is a useful school.

During my stay in Warsaw I gave a fête to sixteen generals who had assembled there, and it merited the 'Morning Post' title of a "grand entertainment."

At this fête Novosiltzow challenged my toast, "The Princess Potoski,"* by insisting on giving her again as his own when it came to his turn. I used my privilege, and required that the draught should be salt and water, and I drank off a magnum. Novoziltzow shrunk from the contest ignobly, but related the incident the same evening to the Countess, adding, "Did

* This lady was not gifted with personal attractions; but the graces of a highly cultivated intellect and manners of singular refinement, rendered her an object of universal admiration.—ED.

you ever know such a —— as that Wilson?" The Countess replied that she "did not agree with him," and he had his congé.

On the 14th I left the city in the morning, and journeyed until four o'clock, when I met Lord Walpole, on his route from Polotzk. I turned round my horse and stayed a night with him at the post. He gave me letters from Constantinople, which I enclose.*

The loss of a friend, Mr. Levy, of the Count Fogassiera, a Piedmontese officer whom I had sent as courier to Constanotinple, a faithful servant and two gallant dragoons, supersedes all regret about property, but I have suffered to a very considerable amount.

The next morning I proceeded on my route by Lowicz, where I received a command from Princess Radziwil, the mother-in-law of Princess Louisa of Prussia, on nó account to pass without paying her a visit.

The Princess's residence was near two German miles from Lowicz, and out of my route, but the compliment was imperative, and I immediately drove to Arcadia, not in a very high-classed equipage for a British general, it being a common cart with ladder sides, in which I made my journey from Polotzk; but I conceived that I should be welcomed even by the porter when he knew that I was an Englishman, come in what vehicle I might. I did not miscalculate.

Princess Radziwil and the Countess Serivan Potoski received me with the most cordial kindness. After some conversation, they showed me the wonders of their magic creation.

* From Mr. Liston and others; communicating the death by drowning, in a storm in the Black Sea, of the persons mentioned in the next paragraph.—ED.

I am at a loss even now to determine whether the genius of conception or the energy of execution is most to be admired in this extraordinary combination of both.

Delisle has, I understand, celebrated the Arcadian phænomenon and its beauties.

It is an inspiring subject. At one moment the traveller is fascinated by the most pleasing images of rural structures of every modern country, and the next he is contemplating the gigantic masses and awful desolation of Grecian and Roman architecture.

From the chambers of Versailles I was transported to the temples of the Pagan gods, and from the embellishments of modern courts to the mystical decorations of Delphi.

There was no miniature imitation to impress imperfect resemblances; no counterfeit antiquities; no substitution of names for things. Reality pervaded the whole, electrified the senses, and produced an union of respect and pleasure that I never before felt at the sight of works of art.

A Turk even would have violated his grand philosophical principle and expressed surprise, when he learnt that all these works had been achieved by a woman, without any other aid than her own mind and the hands of her peasants.

I really look at the Princess Radziwil as a woman calculated to have been a Semiramis. She would have proved another wonder of the world had she been born a sovereign.

From Arcadia the Princess Radziwil insisted on my going to Nieborow, which is the mansion of the property. I could not refuse, and I entered her carriage.

Here I saw a noble collection of pictures; some

most exquisite drawings, as large as life, by a Saxon artist, who only shades them with bistre, being conscious that he does not equal with the colour-brush his execution with the pencil; and a grove of orange-trees in a gallery a hundred yards long: they were the identical trees given by King Augustus to his mistress. The Countess Radziwil bought them, and transferred them to Nieborow.

We dined early. After dinner I had the affliction of seeing that charming woman and the Countess Potoski shed torrents of tears, at an incident which made them feel that their nearest relatives were exposed to all the miseries of this fatal war. Still, like every other Polish woman with whom I have ever conversed, they spoke with a spirit and a virtuous love of country which does them the highest honour, and entitles them to the sympathy of every generous mind.

They truly deserve that re-establishment in the list of nations for which they have so long struggled, and for which they will contend while they have a relation to bear arms. Nay, they are ready themselves to head the columns! And I am satisfied that if the Austrians would have defended the lines round Warsaw, they would have been animated by the active presence of all the rank and beauty of the Polish provinces whose fate depended on the issue of that contest.

I think, however, that the Poles are sensible enough not to insist at the present moment on more than the recognition of the political existence of the Duchy: that is, on its having a chief, preserving the Polish language, and maintaining a Polish military force disposable at the will of him who rules. The Emperor of Russia is the sovereign whom they prefer, as he

possesses the greater part of their country, and they entertain hopes of one day or other improving their position: but they all admit that the Prussian Government was a most paternal one; and indeed it is impossible to pass through the country without being assured that the most sedulous attention and the most liberal aid must have been given to the amelioration of the condition of the peasants and of the structures of the towns.

At six o'clock in the evening I took leave of these excellent people, for whose personal security I felt no uneasiness as the Emperor had ordered them a considerable guard, but for whose anxieties I felt great regret.

We were carried in their phaeton and four to the post-town, which now belongs to Marshal Davoust, and which did belong to Bernadotte. From thence we descended to our rustic car, and, having travelled all night, arrived here this morning, when we learnt that General Winzingerode had taken Kalish with near two thousand prisoners, and Woronzow Posen with several hundred.

It appears that General Regnier, who commanded at Kalish, arrived there only the day before; that he injudiciously posted General Noztitz with five hundred men near a German mile on the right of the town and in front of the Warta; that Noztitz was cut off and obliged to lay down his arms; that Regnier's corps attempted for some time to maintain the suburbs, but, finding themselves pressed, retired across the Warta, and burnt the bridge. In the night the evacuation of the city took place. The Russian loss amounted to a thousand killed and wounded. The Saxons fought

very well, and are the first *plump* enemies the Russians had seen since Moscow.

The Imperial army is now on march to the Oder. The centre column moves between Posen and Kalish. The French seem concentrated at Glogau. We expect the King to join hands in a few days.

It is a critical moment, and I confess that I would not have made the movement as it has been made. I think too much is hazarded too early in the year.

I tremble when I see battalions not two hundred strong, and I think on the "facilis descensus Averni" every day more likely to be repeated; but if we regain the "transparent light" of Chemnitz I will worship Temerity rather than Prudence: I have already exalted Fortune as a more powerful divinity than Merit.

I was much gratified at finding *brother* * Platow here. He is experiencing the persecutions of jealousy, and chiefly because his *portrait was in the English newspapers*; but he has the admiration of every high-minded man in the army, and although he may neither have the first order of St. George nor a laurelled sword set in diamonds, he is a happier man, for he will always feel that he has faithfully served his country.

February 22nd, Kalish.†

Having declared my protest against a further advance with the *whole residue* of our armies, I determined to come here and see Kalish, that I might inquire into the late affair of Winzingerode's and reconnoitre a point which I thought we ought to occupy until the King of Prussia declared and our reinforcements had reached the Vistula. I then proposed to

* A Freemason.—ED.

† Or Kalicz.

join General Milaradowitch, but on my arrival here I found that general, and the next day, the 21st, we received advice that head-quarters would be transferred here.

It appears that the Russians were obliged to fall back at one time three wersts; that they never carried the suburbs; that the prisoners they made belonged to a separated rear-guard, and that their loss in killed and wounded greatly exceeded the Saxon loss. The number of prisoners made altogether also did not amount to a thousand.

Regnier had ten thousand with him, having left a guard with three thousand under Prince Poniatowski at Czenstochau, where the Prince having twelve thousand men is in communication with the Austrian contingent, which, contrary to expectation, occupies the line of Lipsko, Sydwolka, and Opoczin. If the news of Prince Biron who came from Prussia three days since, is true, the position of the Austrian force in this menacing attitude over Warsaw is accounted for. He says that by an arrangement with France they have occupied Trieste and Fiumé.

The same authority informs us that the French will have in a few days, on the Oder, a hundred thousand men. I believe they have now very near eighty thousand, exclusive of such troops as Saxony may be advancing.

Buonaparte would and will make an effort to save Dantzic, and we should, totis viribus, prepare for the shock. The King vacillates. I fear that we must be satisfied with the *will*, and that Buonaparte will command the *deed*. A seasonable and wise arrangement with the Poles will greatly reduce Buonaparte's power

and add to our strength: but weak counsellors are haughty in prosperity and sacrifice interest and justice to pride; in adversity they have not the power of correcting their errors by her instructions.

Kalish is a small city, but an honourable memorial of the Prussian administration. The houses are well built; the machinery of the mills is a chef-d'œuvre, and the whole state of the city proves that the Government was animated by a most liberal spirit of improvement; for it was the Government who sacrificed temporary revenue to the permanent advantage of public establishments on a scale calculated to create public spirit and active industry. I am told that several hundred thousand pounds were thus laid out in Kalish alone, and through the Polish provinces several millions.

Many German families reside here, but the patriotic sentiment is so strong that when General Winzingerode gave a ball not *one lady* went to it. What other women could resist the fiddle and the waltz?

I have collected here seventy-five Spaniards, who belonged to a battalion in Regnier's corps. The poor fellows skip about with me, and show as much joy and satisfaction as the faithful dog expresses at the discovery of his master. They will all be sent to Memel to join Colonel O'Donnell's battalion.

March 1st.—The King has signed the Treaty! "Toto certandum est corpore regni." This is a most important event. I have no doubt Buonaparte will decree that the House of Brandenburg ceases to reign, and that he will offer Silesia to Austria. But Prussia can put a hundred thousand effective men under arms, and in the need of France such a force acting upon

such a base as Silesia ought to determine the superiority of this campaign, if Austria be neutral. It is a most fortunate coup for Russia. We were quite expended: we had not sixty thousand effectives under arms, and many guns had not *one* artilleryman!

Austria's enmity, even if that were probable, would now lose much of its mischievous power, but I think Prussia would not have acceded to the Treaty *unless the King had private assurance* of Austria's favourable view of such a line of policy.

Some Cossacks entered Berlin the other day. They formed a garrison of seven thousand men. Two guns placed on a bridge, loaded with grape, drove them out of the town with the loss of two hundred men. It was, however, a gallant enterprise, similar to one in a former war.

Since then the French have removed their head-quarters from Frankfort to a place between that city and the Oder, probably anticipating the defection of the King.

That apprehension accounts for many of their movements which otherwise, with the actual force they have, would be inexplicable.

Lord Walpole arrived here a few days since, and we momentarily expect Lord Cathcart. I should have gone to Posen if I had not known that Lord Cathcart was on the road from S. Petersburg. He comes at an important epoch.

The anecdotes collected here of Jerome Buonaparte are very singular. He bathed in a bath of wine every day, provided by the town. Here, as well as at Warsaw, he obliged ladies to be his handmaids; and levied a contribution of five hundred crowns a-day

upon the inhabitants for his expenses. These and similar excesses occasioned his first quarrel with Buonaparte.

The Emperor has given Captain Fanshaw, who acted as my aide-de-camp at Malo-Jaroslavets (when I planted the guns that checked the descent of the enemy), the order of St. Anne, *à coup*. This is a great compliment to myself, and this is the second aide-de-camp of mine whom the Emperor has distinguished with a public mark of his approbation.

The week that has been passed here in quiet has enabled me to refit my tatters and fragments, but the wear and tear of man, horse, and property in such a service exceeds all ordinary calculation. I am sorry to say I am in progress to the invalid list. My left shoulder is full of rheumatic pains, and my right ancle, where I received my Droska wounds, continues enlarged and very painful occasionally. Frequent opodeldoc embrocations will, I hope however, save me from becoming a barometer, and consequently an antique before my time.

I have been adding to my stock in hand Admiral Tchichagow's Turkish charger, the handsomest animal of his size I almost ever saw: *Harry*,* if he distinguishes himself, shall have him on my return. I have also increased my establishment by a black poodle, who came of his own accord and sought my protection. His character is very like "Pacha's," but in physiognomy and colour he had such properties as obliged me to address him by the name of Pluto.

Dawson has had the severest fall from his horse I ever saw in my life. The animal reared, tumbled

* Sir R. Wilson's eldest son.

back, and Dawson's body formed the bed to receive him. It was on pavement, but, strange to say, he received but little injury, although the saddle was crushed while he was a-straddle.

I much fear that my dragoon left at Polotzk is dead, and also Baron Brinken. The former was to have had the soldier's Cross of St. George, and I believe those who are yet with me will also be so honourably decorated.

2nd.—Last night I saw General Charnhotzh, who is come from Breslau and is made Minister-at-War to the King of Prussia. He tells me that there are near four thousand men at Glogau, three hundred at Stettin, and above five thousand at Custrin; that Regnier and Grennier's corps are near Glogau, Beauharnois in march to that neighbourhood; that there are six thousand men in Berlin, and six thousand cohorts in good order on march from the Elbe to that point; that the Saxons are reconnoitring and troops are in march in various directions from the Rhine; that Prussia wants fire-arms, swords, ammunition, &c.; but still he hopes for a successful campaign. If I could see reinforcements arrive to the Russians, and feel assured of Austria's policy, I also should throw up the cap of victory; but I cannot even yet, with our left flank not secured, join the cheer without some qualms of apprehension. Fortune is, however, a potent goddess, and she has not yet shown any symptoms of capriciousness. If we roll her wheel beyond the Oder, and float her insignia in Dantzic, then she may coquette with our foe without causing much jealousy for this year.

5th.—The arrival of Lord Cathcart was followed by a courier from S. Petersburg with English papers to

the 24th of January. These despatches, the arrival of the Austrian Minister (a decided partizan of Metternich), the interviews with General Charnhotzh, &c., have fully occupied the British Embassy. There are hopes of Austria's decided neutrality, and Count Stadion is said to be on the road for the Imperial head-quarters and England with propositions of peace.

I enclose memoranda* of the present means and resources of Prussia. It is an important document which I wish to be preserved.

The Russian advanced posts have been thrown forward. Wittgenstein is at Driesen, Woronzow at Schwerin (let this be noted to his father), and Winzingerode at Rawitz, on the border of Silesia and near Glogau. Milaradowitch is four miles on this side Posen; Barclay de Tolly still observes Thorn, with his head-quarters at Spenoclnow; Pahlen, with the residue of Sacken's corps, watches Warsaw and detaches two thousand men to watch Modlin, and three thousand on the Petrikau road. The main army rests in cantonments, as heretofore, awaiting convalescents and clothing. Six thousand of the former are on this side the Vistula, but no great body of fresh troops will join before the end of April. It is then my belief that Russia cannot have disposable, until the fall of the Vistula fortresses, more than eighty thousand effective men.

The Austrians, to very general surprise, are at Petrikau and Lask as well as behind the river Pilica. They here hover over Warsaw and cover Cracow, where Poniatowsky has thirteen thousand regulars and about twenty-five thousand militia, armed citizens,

* See Appendix.

&c.; a part of these are at Czenstochau. Regnier continues in the environs of Glogau.

As the Russians have certainly not forty thousand disposable men at present and Prussia not even so many, the enemy, in consequence of our dislocation and marches, has many great advantages: indeed if Austria failed us we could make no contest, but Fortune still favours us, and Jove seems to repent—

> "Si qua super fortuna laborum est
> Ipse regam."

We must not, however, sleep upon such confidence. In war and politics, peril is the twin of security.

It is the intention of the Emperor to establish a Council of Government at Warsaw for the administration of the affairs of the Duchy. I believe that by a secret article Prussia is to repossess the Duchy eventually, and in exchange to give Memel to Russia; but it is wise to conceal the arrangement from the Poles until the King can make known his intention to conciliate the Polish feelings; this *may be done* by a sacrifice of the most injudicious part of his former system of rule in this country. But the Austrian part and the Russian part will not be satisfied by the re-establishment of the partition, and the Temple of Janus can never be shut while any of the provinces remain denationalized.

I am going to Winzingerode in a few days, as he will have the most conspicuous and advanced command; but as there seems to be a resolution to put an extinguisher upon my sparks of vitality, unless some instructions come from England to accredit me as a general officer instead of a *volunteer*,—which is my

character by implication in Lord Cathcart's memorable Wiazma despatch,—even His Majesty's Government will never see the records of my existence, to enable them to judge of its utility.

I understand that all my despatches are closed down in a strong box, never to see the light. How, in such a case, can Government know how far I am worthy of the trust actually reposed in me, although it is officially recognised?

There may be good reasons for refraining from giving me public notoriety, but there can be none for total suppression.

I make these remarks without any ill-will to Lord Cathcart, who is in all personal matters very kind, and who has certainly reason, from the most marked attentions on my part, to be satisfied that I have no feeling but that of good-will to himself and respect to his station; but he seems rather to have been instructed by—*or to have understood*—his Majesty's Government that it would be agreeable to them if he kept me as much as possible in the background —out of sight, if not out of action; and I *could say* what I do not think it prudent to write, as to the very general impression of the existence of such a disposition on his part.

Even in the despatch about poor Tyrconnel, he has so far omitted notice of myself that Lord Tyrconnel's friends and the public must conceive that either no British officers were present, or that we neglected our duty to a countryman, and one so deservedly beloved.

God forbid that I should have paid any attention from other motives than those of affection and duty; but still, an omission of all notice in such a, com

munication as Lord-Cathcart made is in fact a reproach.

With regard to all silence about my public services, the officers here, and more than the officers, are far more astonished than myself.

EXTRACT FROM PRIVATE LETTER TO E. W.

"March 2, 1813.

"I ought to note my own services for my family's satisfaction, but the public should only know them through other channels. Moreover these journals are not written with any care as to style or arrangement: they are the image of my thoughts, unpolished by consideration of phraseology. However, I leave the future as well as the past to your judgment. Let those who read, at all events, know the spirit and object of these memoranda."

12*th*.—The last diary advertised a nobility-ball and one to be given by the Marshal. The first was very thinly attended, and if there was much fashion there was very little beauty. The second, by admitting the town ladies, improved the specimens of "Nature's last, best work," but presented no remarkable model for admiration.

Kalish is scarcely Poland, and the motley band presents a very unsatisfactory effect. I was also much disappointed in the *élégantes*' robes: the drapery was badly selected and ungracefully worn.

Having a very bad headache the second night, I withdrew after making my bow to his Imperial Majesty, who danced both evenings with the zeal of a certain late British general.

Winter has again covered the earth with her white scarf, and my nose quakes whenever I look upon Nature's shroud.

For the last two days I was indeed not so well as heretofore, but I am again braced to the right tone.

This morning Admiral Greig made his appearance We parted last at Constantinople. The next year may, however, produce us stranger revolutions.

My communication with Constantinople has ceased by the arrival of Lord Cathcart. Mr. Liston will have reason to regret me as a correspondent. Lord Cathcart seldom or never writes to him; and the passage of the Oder, the occupation of Berlin, and the Russian peace with Prussia are not deemed incidents of sufficient importance, with many other collateral events, to merit direct communication. Liston will now be obliged to retire from the field, and Andreossi will ride undisputed lord of it.

Without attention and knowledge of what is passing on this theatre, Liston may say with Othello, "Farewell the big wars," &c.

The Emperor is gone to Breslau. The meeting will be interesting. Of course oaths of eternal friendship will be again sworn.

The military reports announce that the Prussians, twenty-three thousand strong, are moving upon Leignitz; that Winzingerode will be on their right; Milaradowitch at Fraustadt; and Wittgenstein at Berlin. I presume that the enemy will retire beyond the Elbe without much resistance now that the Prussians are brought into action; but they (the enemy) have assembled a very large force—sixty thousand men—at Erfurth, and by the last authentic

advices it appears that Buonaparte has already on this side the Rhine a disposable force of a hundred thousand men. This force is daily augmenting, and I have no doubt that the King of Prussia stated the truth when he informed the Emperor that France would have passed by the end of June two hundred and fifty thousand men to this side of the frontier.

Our plan of campaign is not yet settled. It certainly would be expedient to advance and prevent a further concentration of force upon the Elbe: but, in the first place, we want means; in the second, we are masters of no fortress on the Vistula or the Oder; and, in the third, the Austrian contingent, connected with the Poles at Cracow, paralyses Russia and Prussia, since Austria will not make a separate treaty of peace.

The position of the Pilica, if the Confederates could bring an equal power, is of a nature to check all operations beyond the Vistula; but with an inferior force it is decisive, in my opinion, of the war beyond that river, unless the coast of the Baltic is made the base of operations. Russia, not having Dantzic, will never abandon her communications with the Niemen, and without Russia the Allies have not sufficient force.

Sweden, it is said, will lend or hire out thirty thousand men; but, from what I learn by Count Lowenhielm, who has just arrived here, Sweden is more than ever jealous of Denmark; and she represents that the Denmark proposition for peace is an insidious policy under the direction of France, in which view I agree with her. Sweden, therefore, cannot be considered as an ally who will embark all

her strength or even all her goodwill in the common cause.

Weissenberg, who is gone to England, will have arrived there long before this letter, and therefore England will know the Austrian professions; but I am of opinion that Austria will give no aid to Russia, of whose reputation she is as much jealous as she was before of her ambition; for she considers Russia's success as the nurse of a spirit of aggrandisement, and thinks that her fame gives her a most pernicious influence among the Sclavonian population. Austria, therefore, would gladly see Russia humbled if her humiliation did not give too much strength to France, and France certainly wishes to prove that she still possesses a military superiority before she makes any treaty of peace with Russia.

A hundred and fifty thousand disposable troops advancing from the Elbe, under the favourable circumstances which the French possession of two fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula, with the Polish and Austrian co-operation, must afford, would ensure the objects both of Austria and France.

Is it probable that Buonaparte will treat as a defeated power, when he can re-establish his consideration to such a degree as will assure him a commanding influence in negotiation? France is weary of wars of ambition, but France will so far support him; and every Frenchman is prompted by his characteristic patriotism and vanity to redeem the military reputation which disaster has impaired.

The Prussian official estimate of the national means, when assisted by England to the full amount required, does not present a hundred thousand disposable men;

and Russia, when all her reinforcements are received, will not be enabled to bring as effectives into the field a disposable force of eighty thousand men. The residue will be occupied in blockading the enemy's fortresses, in checking their positions, and in hospital: but the total of Russians who can ever assemble on this side the Niemen will not exceed during this war a hundred and fifty thousand effective men.

I know that Lord Cathcart makes a different statement. He reports that we have a hundred and twenty thousand men now between the Elbe and the Vistula; that thirty thousand are on march from S. Petersburg; that the Legion is eight thousand strong; and that Tolstoy has arrived at Kiew with a hundred and twenty-seven thousand. Moreover, that there are thirty thousand convalescents on march. He gives as his authority the Emperor of all the Russias, &c., on the verdict of the "Marshal Prince Kutusow Smolensko." But I assert that between the Niemen and the Elbe we have only eighty thousand men, not all effectives, and including nine thousand convalescents; that there are not eighteen thousand on march from S. Petersburg; and that Tolstoy has not more than sixty thousand men, and those of an inferior description and organization.

There are many convalescents at Wladimir, Moscow, Kalouga, &c., but they cannot arrive for months, and of these many will perish in progress.

I do not state these facts for the sake of gloomy presage, but I state them as facts for future history when truth may be told, since truth is not thought useful at the moment, even for the information of a British Government.

To H.R.H. THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

SIR, Kalish, March 13, 1813.

I have been deprived of the honour of communication with your Royal Highness by a variety of circumstances. I trust, however, that your Royal Highness has not numbered me among the dead, whose heaps cover Russia, or amongst the ungrateful, at which I should more shudder.

Since my last letters to England, which noticed the Prussian co-operation, no very material event has occurred. On the side of Berlin the enemy had retired to Wittenberg, where four thousand men were stationed to defend or destroy the bridge, as might be expedient; and during the retreat of the Berlin garrison some partial affairs occurred with some variable success; but on the side of Dresden no movement has been made. The corps of Regnier, now strongly reinforced, remains at Bautzen to cover the capital, and the Saxon Government is making the most energetic efforts to repel the invasion. General Blucher, who commands the twenty thousand Hungarians now assembling at Leignitz, with Winzingerode's corps, hopes that the Saxon people will join his standard; but that hope is not to be admitted in a military estimate of strength.

According to authentic intelligence from a quarter which I dare not commit to the hazard of correspondence, the enemy had collected a few days since sixty thousand new troops at Erfruth, and others were on march from the Rhine. At Magdeburg there were

eight thousand, at Torgau, &c., the remains of the Grand Army; so that the line of the Elbe and Saxony cannot be supported at this very time by less than a hundred thousand disposable men.

This force is certainly labouring under several unusual disadvantages; but still it is a force which, without other reinforcements, would, from the relative situation of the contending parties, be respectable. But the King of Prussia is persuaded that, before two months, Buonaparte will have moved from France, since his return there, two hundred and fifty thousand effective men, which indeed will be a mass of most formidable character.

When your Royal Highness looks at the map and sees the mutual positions of the enemy and the combined armies—when your Royal Highness recollects that the lines of the Oder and the Vistula are occupied by near forty thousand men in six important fortresses—that Warsaw is still most hostile in spirit—that the Austrian contingent on the River Pilica is not yet neutralised by any treaty, but covers thirteen thousand regular Polish troops and above twenty-five thousand recruits and militia at Cracow—I think your Royal Highness will agree that the means of the enemy present no *minor features*, even if you do believe the official statements of Russia's present strength and expected reinforcements.

I wish that I could concur in these statements; but although I am *officially* restricted from making any representations which may differ from them to *His Majesty's Ambassador* I must, as an individual honoured by your Royal Highness's confidence, under the cover of that confidence caution your Royal Highness

against giving credit to the returns *sent to England for the information of His Majesty's Government.*

The Russian army does not amount to eighty-thousand men on this side of the Niemen.

There are about twenty-four thousand convalescents on march to reinforce the battalions, eighteen thousand fresh troops from S. Petersburg are now moving on the Riga line, and Count Tolstoy is advancing from Niznei Novogorod to Kiew about forty-five thousand troops and twenty-five thousand irregulars; but allowing additional reinforcements, and not estimating casualties in progress through a sickly country and other extra causes for diminution of numbers, I do not believe that Russia can bring into any field on this side of the Vistula eighty thousand men.

The organization of this force will be good, and the morale high; but, on the other hand, the war with Prussia, by approaching the theatre and exciting those passions which Buonaparte knows so well how to inflame, will greatly tend to an exaltation of the French spirit and an increase of the popular energy.

Prussia will be able to operate with a force about equal to that of the Russians if England can pay her troops; and it is still pretended that although Denmark makes peace with Russia and England and preserves Norway, the Swedes will lend thirty thousand men.

Under the supposition that this combined force can collect and will cordially act, nevertheless it will be defective at least to one-third of its numerical strength compared with the enemy, exclusive of the Austrian contingent; and if the Austrians should eventually make any demonstration of a hostile character in

favour of the French, it is impossible for the combined forces to dispute even the Oder.

Austria feels the value of her position and the strength of her attitude; but she is making assurance doubly sure and arming to the teeth.

She is resolved to maintain her station: and, from what I hear and what I collect from sources of accurate intelligence, I am convinced that she will not adopt any policy that can contribute to the territorial aggrandisement of Russia, or that elated feeling which she considers more pernicious to her safety.

She wishes to frame a peace that may remove Russia from some of her most menacing positions; but she would gladly see Russia somewhat humbled if France did not again become too powerful by success.

I am therefore obliged, after an impartial review of our actual force, the state of our connections, and our hopes, to sum up unfavourably; and when I reflect on the character and conduct of those who are to make the dispositions and direct the operations of the combined forces, I cannot but presage gloomily. In the ensuing campaign it is not the ability of several detached commanders which can relieve the erroneous management of the whole body, nor is it the courage of the soldiery which can counteract systematic imbecility. We have no preternatural aids to expect, and I cannot conceive that wisdom and courage will now be found where they could not be nourished when every circumstance combined to force reason into the mind most destitute of knowledge, and to render the most pusillanimous brave.*

* "Kutusow." The name indicated by Sir R. W. in after years.—ED.

I might indeed have brighter hopes if I saw measures adopted to conciliate the Poles, who are desirous of disconnecting themselves with France; if I could hear that Turkey was to be tranquillised and Austria's jealousy mitigated by the restoration of the late injudicious acquisitions in Moldavia; and, above all, if England's reputation and interests were adequately maintained on the continent. But alas! England is committing a suicide and destroying her influence at every Court in Europe, by proofs of weakness at home and incapacity abroad.

"If England to herself did prove but true," she might yet rule the issues of present and impending war.

I cannot write all I would on this subject; but the return of Lord Walpole will expose to His Majesty's Ministers, if he states what he knows, that in the British Councils at this Court not only talent and energy are strangers, but even truth is proscribed however confidentially communicated.

I write this without any prejudice against the person; I write it with the sincerity of one who loves his country, and that with affection paramount to every other object.

I have stated that it is pretended that Sweden will yet disembark her troops in our service; but I know she has sent here to represent Denmark's offer of peace as a measure of her French policy, and that she desires, at all events, to have guarantees of her fidelity, to which Denmark will never submit. I therefore regard the alliance on that side as very precarious, and mutual apprehension will greatly diminish the value of either's active co-operation.

Great reliance is placed on the good-will and efforts of the Germans. If Buonaparte does not force a conscription this year, he will diminish that danger; but I am also of opinion that the expression of that good-will will await the issue of the first shock, now that a giant body of troops has appeared to resist the progress of Russia.

What events may happen in France to affect this *raisonnement* and assist in dislodging the enemy, no person situated as I am can anticipate; but I conclude all with repeating that Austria holds the fate of Russia and Prussia in her balance, and that the only hope of attaching Austria to a policy which may make her rather the friend of Europe than of France rests on the formation of a Government in England which may obtain confidence, and in the employment of a Minister abroad whose understanding, vigour of action, and liberality, foreign Ministers may respect. We may then calculate on a successful war, or honourable peace.

I am going in a day or two to reconnoitre Glogau, and see what I can at every point; but as my statements are not in unison always with those that are given to Lord Cathcart, no report of mine is hereafter to be recorded in the archives even of this Embassy, and we are *all now private gentlemen.*

England will in future times be much surprised to find only a collection of Russian bulletins as the produce of such an establishment as this Embassy has had.

That delicacy should be preserved in the arrangement of military reports—that the communications should be most *carefully and confidentially made*—is most salutary; but that information should be rejected

of every kind which does not tally with the never-to-be-credited statements given by the Russian Government of its own means, the enemy's strength, and mutual operations, is a phenomenon in a diplomatic and military bureau that I believe is unparalleled, and that must be fatally prejudicial sooner or later.

Of course my communications with Mr. Liston cease at the same time; but I think he will soon have to regret the change, for to this hour no information has been sent to him of the possession of Berlin, &c., or of the Prussian peace with Russia, although the intelligence is of such importance to our interests at Constantinople at this epoch.

I beg your Royal Highness to continue me in your gracious good opinion as one of your Royal Highness's most attached and grateful servants.

ROBERT WILSON.

CONTINUATION OF DIARY.

Lord Cathcart will not only not transmit any information contrary to the official statement of the Marshal with a long name and unjustifiable fame, but he has positively refused all communications of military proceedings. He permits me to go on a visit to my friends in command, but he "*wishes to have no report of what I hear or see, as it would be indelicate to have any papers contradicting the official document.*" This is indeed *zeroing* me. "Sed spero meliora."

I strive to push my bark into a flowing tide, but I can never clear the foul ground. If once I could get my navigation free, I would gladly take the goodwill

of my own pilotage. I feel even now like the Russians floating amidst perils, without a port under my lee and without a true compass.

The Russian detachments have been pushing the enemy, and I understand have cleared the country to the Elbe. The return of the Emperor from Breslau will probably give us an insight into the proceedings of the campaign as far as they can be regulated by our prescience and power. The day before yesterday an English courier arrived from Vienna, who had been robbed of all his despatches near Olmutz by six men. As there were many letters to Napoleon, Romanzow, &c., as well as to Lord Cathcart, we probably shall have an interesting publication hereafter.

This morning Colonel Leroc came from England to collect the bones of the Germans, whose bodies we refused.

I am certain that we lost the service of forty thousand men, who, without doubt, would have served England, and who would have served her faithfully. The greater part have since perished by the frost, by famine, or by the "*charitable*" sword and pike.

There are still supplies both in front and rear; but the operation will be slower to the front, and the distance is so great to the prisoners' depôts that the recruits cannot for this summer be brought into action.

Lord Cathcart went to meet General Walmoden at the frontier the day before yesterday. The journey was to be a great secret, but alas! the whole town knew it before he set off. He reminds me very much of the child who hides its face, and cries "You can't see me."

If Walpole tells all he knows on these subjects he will have an entertaining budget for Downing-street. The whole system, however, is of a nature to excite more regret than laughter. Something must be done, or, as Walpole truly says, "The Continent will be in six months again rent from British connection." An able minister might have long since bestridden it like a Colossus, but manœuvring neither acquires national power nor maintains national character.

In private life Lord Cathcart may be, and indeed is, an excellent gentleman and an honourable man, and in the field a good executive cavalry officer, but he has defects in his nature and habits which disqualify him for any public station in which a man is charged with high public interests.

General Walmoden, it is said, will enter the British service and command the German legion. Fame speaks well of him.

The weather since yesterday has again become moderate, and the long-absent sun pierces the misty clouds.

21*st*. The Emperor has returned. The King is to come here, and the head-quarters will remain at Kalish some time longer. The enemy will, I think, be first in the field. His exertions continue most vigorous, and I am still more inclined to think that Austria will not forbid action, except against the Poles at Cracow. Her power augments as the combatants expend their blood and resources. If Buonaparte is a wiser man than he was, he will only endeavour to push to the Vistula this year; the next, if peace be not made, to the Dnieper. His march, however, will cost France much valuable life. The Russians are "brand high,"

and the Prussians seem to have caught the spirit of self-devoting patriotism.

The early hostility of Austria to Russia will alone give Buonaparte an easy approach; so England ought to do all in her power to fascinate the Austrian negotiator.

Pozzo di Borgo is arrived from England. This place becomes now the great diplomatic *foyer*; but the diplomates will, or I am mistaken, have to rest on their arms until the bayonets have clashed. I am going myself to-morrow to see Glogau, then to Custrin, perhaps to Berlin, and from thence I shall run along the Elbe, for I suspect the enemy will not be able to move before the end of April.

General Tchichagow, who is just come here, states that the French cohorts are very fine men, well clothed and well exercised; and that the remains of the French cavalry are all remounted, and well mounted. This confirms my opinion "sous tous les rapports."

The Russians have commenced the bombardment of Thorn, and are procuring guns to batter from Graudentz. Thorn is, therefore, I conceive, a sure prize, and its position is of value as a tête-du-pont.

One of my dragoons, whom I constituted my factotum as a servant, is, I am sorry to state, in a most dangerous delirious fever, attended with violent vomiting of blood. I must leave him behind, and this greatly inconveniences me. It is extraordinary how I escape so much contagious sickness as has been in my family. It is one of the incidents that gives me most hope for the future.

Yesterday evening I received letters from Constantinople. They will speak for themselves. I would

wish a kind letter to be written from England to Mrs. Liston by Jemima. Liston and his wife have been very good friends. I have been employing myself the whole of this day in writing to that quarter. Amongst my letters is one to the Capitan Pacha, which may repair my loss of his letter.

Platow has just given me his picture,* which I send to England by Walpole. It is a speaking likeness. I never saw a resemblance more perfect. I think the gift might be publicly noticed, if done with taste, and if *he* is made the subject of any accompanying praise. The *Moniteur* has already honoured me as the "digne camarade de Rostopchin."

March, 29th, Fraustadt.

On the 27th, after having been detained to dine with the Marshal, and again with the Emperor on the succeeding day although my horses were at the door, I left Kalish. Walpole was still there, but was to proceed the next day to Hamburg.

I left Kalish very gladly, because I was tired of diplomatic mystifications which the sword will and must arrange. If the pen could win Austria, then indeed the sword would not be the most important talisman; but as Austria will await the issue of another trial of force, I think the field is the best theatre, and he is the most likely to win who can enter first.

Knowing Austria as I do, I am satisfied that Buonaparte's speech to Baron Bubna is congenial with the feelings of the court, the cabinet, and the nation: "Tell the Emperor to think of the power which Russia has

* Now in the possession of Admiral Sir Provo Wallis, K.C.B., Sir R. Wilson's son-in-law.—ED.

displayed under the most feeble of sovereigns, and to think of her capabilities when ably directed." England could alone check that alarm and counteract its operation, but England is a cipher on the Continent at this time from the character of her representation.

I overtook my horses at Kroeben, and tackled them four-in-hand to my britzka. I fear, however, that for equipage and equipment I should have been voted a dishonourable member of the Whip Club; in all other respects I am vain enough to believe that few of the best coachmen of that society would have rivalled me. I made lame horses go and blind horses find their way over the worst roads for thirty miles. When I came to Lissa I regretted that I had not time to overlook the field of battle, but I had a passing view that fixed its locality in my mind for instructive purposes.

I reached Fraustadt per post, and there found General Milaradowitch. I had so bad a headache that I could not remain up with him, but a night's repose restored me. I was quite charmed with Fraustadt. It is the prettiest town I had ever seen in Poland, and does great credit to the Prussian Government, under whose auspices it was built.

Here I saw the fine remains of the two regiments with which we stormed Wiazma. The Emperor, in recompense, has made them grenadiers; but alas! there are only five hundred survivors sensible of this distinction. At night we went to a theatre, framed in a small room. In the midst of one of the most interesting scenes there was a cry of "Fire!" which threw the actors and actresses into a real distraction and the company upon one another. Some tranquillity was restored by the advice of its being at a distance. I

ran to the spot and found that it was exactly opposite my quarters. The flames burnt furiously. We all worked, and with success. One Russian officer claims the merit of snatching me from a flaming pile which was descending with Virgilian force upon me.

"En lapsa repente, ruinam
Cum sonitu trahit."

Fraustadt had been burnt down before. Like a phœnix it had risen from its ashes, but a second resurrection by the same process was regarded with terror by all.

At Fraustadt Allen took the fever. This was the last Englishman on my establishment. Thus am I in the hands of persons ignorant of my ways, and national ways; and what I grieve most for is that my stud is without English superintendence. I have taken Spanish soldiers whom I found at Kalish and who had been to Moscow with the enemy. They are extremely well-disposed men, and I am sure they will be faithful, but they want instruction.

Before I left Kalish I read a very curious *procès verbal* of a conversation between the Emperor and two Polish ladies at whose house he lodged for the night on his way to Kalish. The description of an English boxing-match could not enter into more particulars of the different gestures, movements, &c., of the parties, even to note of countenances. But there was also some curious matter, for the Emperor is there recorded to have said, "I pledge myself on the word of an Emperor that Buonaparte has twice offered to sacrifice the Duchy since its constitution;" and again, "Quant aux Autrichiens je ne compte pas sur eux; mais j'ai

deux cent mille Turcs pour les contenir." In another part—"Le sort de la Pologne n'est pas decidé; ça depend sur sa conduite et la Providence."

On the day of my departure another interesting paper was in circulation, said to be the convention between the Austrians and Poniatowski, by which he is to evacuate Cracow, and pass through Bohemia with his troops, without arms and in small parties. If Austria has made such an arrangement *without the consent* of Buonaparte it is certain war at no remote period; and at the instant it fortifies me more in hope than if I heard of the arrival of many thousand warlike Goths, although these are much needed.

March 31st, Frankfort-on-the-Oder.

On the 29th I left Fraustadt, passed the Oder at Gollwitz, and made in my carriage for the nearest point to Glogau, that I might reconnoitre that fortress; ascended a hill, within cannon-shot, on which were two windmills; entered one and, with my telescope, immediately saw advancing in my direction a column of several hundred French infantry and some horsemen. Charles having made the same observation, we quickly descended, and drove, under the direction of a Cossack, to the nearest Russian post; expecting every moment a shot from the works, which we passed for the whole distance considerably within reach.

The post was under arms, with two guns to check the sally, but the French did not approach within their range. They kept up the river, and, having taken a walk, returned. This was their general daily practice; and on the preceding day they had done it

with a thousand men, and some artillery, which they fired against the Russians. Having well reconnoitred the place, which is in excellent order, well palisaded, strongly flanked with a garrison of near five thousand men whose guards and detachments appeared very well clothed and who, two deserters told me, received daily, bread, meat, and wine (and we saw many sheep about the place), we again proceeded, and for a distance of two more wersts ran the gauntlet, not by choice but necessity. In the evening we reached Seranitz, where General S. Priest, charged with the blockade, was posted; but he was to be relieved the next day by a Prussian General with twenty guns and three thousand Prussian recruits, whom, however, I think the French will remove soon to a greater distance than musket-shot.

We stopped all night with S. Priest, as the weather was very foul and there was no moon—good entertainment for man and beast being offered.

The next morning we drove off early, passed through Grunsburg, crossed the Oder at Crossen, and recrossed it here this morning at daybreak.

Here I found Woronzow, and learnt that the King was expected. We went out to meet him. He received me in the kindest manner. I rode by his carriage through the town, and when he got out at the house prepared for him he took Woronzow and me by the hand and made us go up with him and breakfast. After half an hour the King said he would walk through the town to see the troops drawn out to receive him, and that he would cross the foot-bridge, while his carriage crossed the ferry, the enemy having destroyed the town bridge. His Majesty desired me

to keep with him, and we entered into a very interesting conversation. He told me that "the French had evacuated Dresden on the 27th, but that they were concentrating their forces in great strength near Magdeburg; that he thought they would make an early effort; that the Russians ought to advance with regularity to anticipate their operations; but that the conduct of Austria in keeping her contingent on the Pilica and covering the Poles at Cracow, caused very great inquietude; that Austria showed an apprehension of Buonaparte's power quite unworthy of her military reputation; that for his own part he had taken his stand; that he was resolved to be an independent Sovereign, or lose all but his honour; that he trusted that England would support him, and then whatever might be the event, he would make a struggle that should cost Buonaparte dear." He spoke and felt as a man conscious of, and equal to, his difficulties; and I am confident that he will do his duty. Would that I could hope fairer than I do; but I do not think the nation is so steady as its Sovereign, Russia powerful to the degree that the occasion requires, or Austria yet safely bonded to the common interest.

It is Austria!—Austria! which holds the balance, and it is to Austria that we should direct all our thoughts, whilst we afford Prussia sufficient succour to keep her vessel afloat.

On the other side of the bridge we met Baron Jacobi on his way to Stockholm and England.

The King asked me whether his appointment would be approved there, to which question I answered in the affirmative. After some more conversation full of public interest and much personal gratification, he

got into his carriage, and proceeded on his route to Kalish, amidst the acclamations of the people. They are very much attached to him; but I cannot imagine them after all that has passed, to be capable of making the exertions and enduring the sacrifices which the times will, I believe, demand, and their professions authorise the King to expect.

Woronzow showed about nine hundred men under arms. He has ten battalions altogether under his command—not making at present fifteen hundred men—and about a thousand horses of every description: all are in good order, and his artillery horses are as fat as if they had never marched above five wersts a-day, and as sleek as if they were out of Newmarket stables.

Frankfort is an old town, remarkable for the fair annually held there, and its neighbourhood to Kunersdorf, where the famous battle was fought by Frederick the *truly* Great; the field of battle is in sight. The fair was this year very thinly attended, and the injury is very great to Frankfort. I have not noticed the carte du pays through which I have passed, but generally from Fraustadt to this place it has greatly reminded me of British scenery, and agriculture seems in a prosperous state. Sir John Sinclair would not be able to make more of a light soil.

April 2nd, Berlin.

On the 31st I went to Custrin, and approached until I could hear the outposts talk by the dyke on the right. While I had my glass in my hand, I saw an officer running down to order me a salute. I observed him expressing his anger vehemently at suffering so near an approach, and presently the ball of a musket

proved that all was on the alert. Having finished my reconnaissance in that quarter, I rode across to the other flank; and as I crossed, a cannon, that had been laid ready, was discharged. Fortunately they had charged with round instead of grape, not expecting that we should move so much within range. The infantry fired again here, and showed great jealousy of this point, so that I was convinced that they were vulnerable on that side. I refer, however, to my military report on that subject. Having accomplished what I wished, I rode to the place where I had left my carriage, for I was resolved not to appear before an enemy again in any car but one of victory. The Cossacks' colonel had provided a sumptuous dinner against my return, and, after partaking with more pleasure from the compliment than from the dainties of the feast, I proceeded to Berlin, where I arrived at night.

Yesterday I paid visits to all the members of the Royal Family still residing here, dined with Alopeus, went in the evening to see "Romeo and Juliet" operatised with very melancholy music, and supped with Princess Louisa wife of Prince Radziwil. I met a variety of friends here, and a general reception as an Englishman that is most flattering to England, which, with all her throes, still towers aloft in foreign estimation.

I refer to my military account for military matters, as I have always an eye to business, even in the midst of the most thoughtless occupations; and it is possible that Prussia, England, and Europe, may have reason to recognise that truth in my visit to Berlin. See private letter to Mr. L.

My information about Dantzic given in the report, I got from Woronzow, and from Baron Gibson whose family is in that city and who has had letters from them; and here I have met with a variety of persons who have given me most extensive intelligence, of official authority, so that I am to this date au fait of what is passing through busy continental Europe.

An arrival from England also of the date of the 4th of March, acquaints me with the opposition victory on the Roman Catholic question, which I fervently prayed for, but did not dare to hope. When Colonel Campbell comes, I hope to have letters and papers that will satisfy all my curiosity as to English affairs.

Since my tour, I have had reason to know that if my proposition from Wilna to Lord Cathcart had been accepted, Prussia would now be in possession of all the fortresses and have the wreck of the army of the Viceroy, to the drummer, as hostages. It is another lesson of the value of time. I hope that we may not have often to regret the loss of that occasion.

3rd.—Yesterday I dined with the Princess Stadtholder and the Princess of Hesse, and passed a very pleasant afternoon. Old England afforded the chief topics of conversation.

In the course of the day read a letter from Dantzic, stating the particulars of the late sally. It appears that the Russians checked the enemy on one point, but they were too weak on all the points, so that they were forced, and at last generally obliged to retire. The French possessed themselves of much cattle, forage, &c. These accidents must be expected when we are only enabled to weave cobwebs for the retention of hornets. I hope the Swedes will soon be in

the field: a force of fifty thousand men, having the Baltic shore as the base of operations, may check Buonaparte, who is certainly preparing an offensive movement. All his troops are sweeping again forward; and yesterday I saw a letter from the President of the University of Ham, in which he expresses his regret to have seen forty thousand men pass through that city on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of March.

4th.—Dined with Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Great Frederick. I had every reason to be flattered by the Prince's and Princess's reception. Paid a visit to my old friend the Countess Voss. She is greatly above 90. I found her as cheerful and looking as well as when we met at Memel. Had an interview with Count Golz, the Minister for Prussian foreign relations. He confirmed the assurance of the enemy's advancing power; and stated that he had little hopes of success, if Russia could not bring into the field a hundred and fifty thousand men to support Prussia's hundred thousand.

He told me that Poniatowski had found shelter behind the Austrian screen, and that Austria would not declare until she had received England's answer. But he thought as I did as to her future policy if Prussia did not recover her fortresses on the Oder, when she might more readily interfere for the deliverance of Germany from French control. He said that England had rejected a separate peace with Denmark, but also that Denmark had not behaved altogether very well. He hoped that final arrangements would be made, and thought that the rapid advance of the French could alone prevent them, as Prussia would mingle in the transaction.

I have found here confirmation of a fact, the existence of which I had before surmised. Prussia is even desirous of seeing Poland re-established, and only fears to propose it as being ignorant of the views of the Emperor with regard to that country.

The Austrian minister's toast at Constantinople, in my opinion is proof of the Austrian disposition, and I should not be surprised if Poland were to revive free and independent; perhaps not entire, but possessing character and power.

My observations in Russia during the late campaign make me an advocate for the measure, as likely to produce more tranquillity and more security in Europe than any other arrangement. Czartorinsky has arrived at Kalish, and I hope that good may arise from his presence.

5th. — Yesterday we received the good news of General Manuel, with two hundred officers, two thousand three hundred men, twelve guns, and three standards being taken by assault at Lüneberg. This is a very brilliant operation. The account of Bremerlehe having been sacked and three hundred boors shot had given a previous gloomy view on that side. Count Wittgenstein, who has just sent to request me to pay him a visit before I return, tells me that the French have sent a corps of about nine thousand men out of Magdeburg; that he has ordered three thousand men under General Bostellar to retire; and he hopes thus to draw them on until he can interpose his corps d'armée, and cut them off. I am to be with him the day after to-morrow. The Count thinks of passing at Dessau, and in that case I shall push on with him to Leipsic, and rejoin Milaradowitch in front of Dresden.

The Cossacks have already occupied Leipsic and passed Weimar, according to advices yesterday received; but Buonaparte is come to Gotha, and his presence is an indication of some offensive movement which may oblige us to change our direction.

The Prussians have made an attempt at Wittenberg, but could not succeed in forcing the tête-du-pont. Wittgenstein, yesterday, sent them some Russian aid.

I have just returned from Spandau, which I reconnoitred close. During my march along the videttes, a Polish general, Sakowsky, who commanded the lancers at Albuera, came out, and as there was no person who could speak with him I was sent for. He was blinded and conducted to the rear of the advanced posts. He had a letter for the Prussian General Thielmann, and wished to see him, but I believe the communication related to the removal of the sick Germans. General Sakowsky spoke of constancy in defence, but I am told by Lestocq that the golden shower will open the bolts and bars of the place immediately. Of course this must be kept very secret. It will be strange if Russia should recover the fortresses as she lost them. If Buonaparte does not hasten it may happen, and then in that case I may be honoured by another tirade in the 'Moniteur.'

Sakowsky spoke highly of British valour in the field and loyalty of conduct when the fights were done. I gave him the Lüneburg news, &c., in return for his compliments, and I think made an impression which may be useful.

The citadel is respectable. The enemy still occupy the town, and posts a werst beyond, which surprises me. Some batteries are making by the Russians, and

the citadel fired last night on the workmen. Last night Mr. Macdonald Kinnaird arrived from Stockholm.

April 10th, Lebst.

On the 7th I dined with Prince Ferdinand again; on the 8th with the Dowager Princess of Orange; and at night I left Berlin.

In the morning accounts had been received of an action with twenty thousand of the enemy, and of their being repulsed with the loss of one gun and about a thousand prisoners. I saw here three hundred of them—very well clothed and fine men, of whom many were Poles. The Allied loss exceeded six hundred killed and wounded.

This intelligence revived the spirit of the inhabitants, but there is, very naturally, great fear; and the more I see the more apprehensive I am for the ultimate safety of Berlin. I arrived here in the evening of yesterday. I immediately waited on General Wittgenstein, who told me that the enemy had about fifty thousand men in the environs of Magdeburg, including eighteen thousand, under Davoust, at Stendall.

He said that he intended to pass, this day, the Elbe at Dessau, and unite with General Blucher, who was in march to join him. He would then have about sixty thousand men, without including nine thousand under Bulow, left to observe Magdeburg. That he had no accounts of the enemy now being at Erfruth, nor anything more than reports of Buonaparte's arrival at Gotha, but he believed that since the 1st of January a hundred thousand men had passed the Rhine, so he presumed that a considerable force was now ready for

him. He lamented the distance of the Russian army: if the enemy do not interfere, he proposes to take Wittenberg, which is left with four thousand men in it and twenty guns, and to promenade in the country between the Elbe and the Elster until its approach.

This is a very fine town, and the Prince of Dessau has a noble palace in it. Here Catherine Empress of Russia was born, and she continued its patroness. In the market-place is an ancient and interesting statue, of gigantic size, of the great Roland.

I have made the acquaintance of General Yorck, who confirmed all that Wittgenstein had said, and added that Victor had fallen back with various detached corps as Blucher advanced, and would increase the Magdeburg army with about fifteen thousand men. If Beauharnois can augment his force so as to have enough to keep us in check without bringing back Davoust, *notre affaire est finie* as far as concerns Hamburg and Berlin, and our retreat over the Elbe will be possible.

April 11th, Dessau.

I passed the Elbe yesterday over a ticklish bridge. I was glad to see works constructing, but the locale is not very favourable for efficient protection.

We have been floating with fortune's tide very long. It will require, however, Leander's powers to swim the Elbe, and I lament the absence of the patent "anti-submergists." In this march I saw many Prussian and many new Russian troops. The Prussians have exactly the air and appearance of the original Portuguese. The pride of martial mien is not visible, but the stuff seems healthy and muscular.

The Russian *débris* are in good order, and the militia look particularly well and rudely warlike. The Prussian cavalry horses already begin to look thin and broken. I much fear that the Allies will not long retain their cavalry superiority. Extreme need produces abundance and sometimes superfluity. So it will be with France.

Here General Yorck requested half-an-hour's private interview with me. He explained all the past, and he said that he conceived resistance impossible unless Austria joined the Allies, and Sweden and an insurgent Germany aided with most vigorous and immediate exertions. This opinion he assured me he had given to the King, and the King was of the same mind. He declared that there were more than a hundred and fifty thousand French already between Erfurth and the Rhine. He knew the fact, and he dreaded every moment to hear that Davoust had commenced some most distressing operations on the right bank of the Elbe, as additional troops were joining the Magdeburg forces.

Since that conversation, advice has been received of the enemy having moved to Halberstadt to effect the union of Durutte's division coming from Dresden and the forts in Saxony; and of Davoust's having marched to Lüneberg, probably with the intention of making an example of our *good city* of Hamburg, where, if he arrives there, he will erect a column to mark the site. "Fuit Ilium" will be the motto.

Wittgenstein tells me that Prince Kutusow is very uneasy at his not bearing upon Saxony and covering Dresden; that is, at his not leaving above sixty thousand French masters of the Elbe from Torgau to

Hamburg. I do not approve of our passage of the Elbe, with all our impediments to retiring if the French advance from Erfurth, or come up from Würzburg by Nürnberg. I conceive the operation to have been most useless and most hazardous, but to remove altogether from a strong watch upon Magdeburg would be insanity.

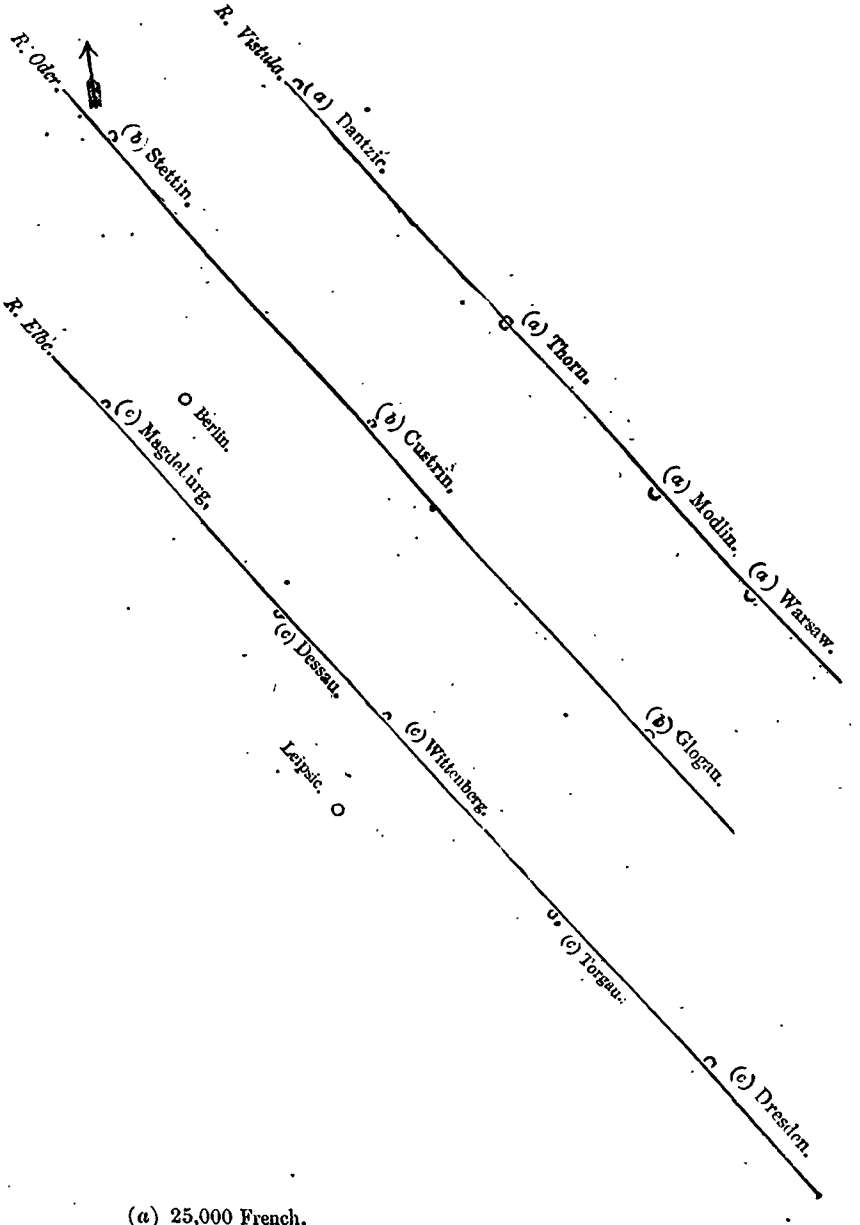
A plan of campaign in the relative situations of the contending parties, which will enable us to maintain our successes, is extremely difficult, perhaps morally impossible; but the best hope would rest, as before said, in arrangement with the Poles, and concentration of eighty thousand men, while Blucher, Winzingerode, Wittgenstein, Yorck, &c., act as advanced guards with sixty thousand. But there must be the materials, and I fear these cannot be provided, considering what demands are made for corps of observation upon the fortresses, &c., behind us. I suggested this idea of campaign at the Niemen. I have persevered throughout, but it will only be in process of execution when the enemy's mass is lodged in our vacuum.

Never was there such a strange position as the Allies are in here and everywhere. I cannot describe it, but I will, by a few remarks, give a faint notion of the case, and my opinions.

It is a repetition, but it cannot too often be repeated to the eye. (See plan opposite).

After appropriating sufficient corps of observation to these points the superflux of the Allies in Prussia and Russia may produce fifty thousand men in time to meet Buonaparte. The question then is, what force can Buonaparte march with?

General Kleist, who is charged with the operations



(*a*) 25,000 French.
(*b*) 15,000 French.
(*c*) 64,000 French, including new reinforcements from Dresden, &c.
Austrian contingent in Silesia.
Poles at Cracow, 20,000.

against Wittenberg, assures me that the enemy is already on march by Hof against Dresden, and with more than a hundred thousand men. The retention of Wittenberg, &c., is a proof that an early movement is intended, but this comes very rapidly and unfavourably for the main army will not reach Dresden for sixteen more days. If Count Wittgenstein and the others cannot keep their ground, repassage of the Elbe must be very difficult and very disastrous. Berlin, I conceive, will inevitably fall in that case, and we shall not find any resting-place before we reach the Vistula, where troubles may also await us.

This view of our affairs would, no doubt, surprise our Government at home, and the thinking people of England who so often mistake vapouring for substance. A couple of fortresses on the Vistula or the conciliation of the Poles would have been truly worth all the territory we have overrun and all the advantages obtained since the passage of the river. We wished to electrify, but we forgot that Germany is not Russia nor Spain; that it has not the social securities of these countries, and therefore that its spirit of resistance must be assured upon *force*, which we could not produce.

When I wished Prussia to co-operate, Prussia could have obtained security in the persons of the French Marshals and the possession of fortresses which were then unprepared; but when Prussia declared war, she chose a most untoward moment. I have advised the King, however, and all the King's friends, to keep in good humour with Austria, to forbear expressions of resentment for the loss of this auspicious moment to arrange the security and independence of Germany;

and, in giving that counsel, I am offering the best security for the Prussian throne.

Not having eighty thousand men in Saxony, not having conciliated the Poles, or engaged Austria in our cause, I think the Allies must fall back upon Silesia and the Vistula: but then with the additional aid of the Swedes we may take an attitude which will check Buonaparte and oblige him to prefer a moderate peace to the continuation of war, which must be attended with varied fortune and supported by great exertions; these, even if successful against the Allies, would render him more dependent upon Austria.

Dessau is a very pretty, clean, English-arranged town, with a very fine palace. The Duke of Dessau Anhalt, *père*, is not well, and was a mile off at a château, which has an English garden, the Duke having been in England and brought back an *Anglomania*. The Prince, his son, is forty years of age, an extremely good-natured person. His wife is sister to the Princess William of Prussia, and is Princess William embellished with very animated expression. There are two daughters, fine girls, and well brought up, and a son of much promise, with very good manners. It is an excellent ménage altogether, and kept up in good style throughout. Wallis would, I am sure, be pleased with the residence, the stables, and the stag-hounds; nor would the cellar be disapproved.

I have been dining with the Prince daily, and one evening we went to the theatre, which is larger than the Lisbon theatre, and where a corps of amateurs acted with much effect, particularly the musical parts. This evening we went in a procession of carriages to drink tea at a *maison de campagne*. Prince Henry,

the King's brother, an ancient acquaintance, is always of our party: he speaks English perfectly well.

This mode of existence is very different from Russian service in Russia or Poland, and to other agrémens we add a glorious sun. It will be painful to break away from such attractions into the scenes we have gone through, but toils, and privations, and mortifications all tend to the bloom of the soldier's laurel.

13th.—Czenstochau is taken. I presume with about nine hundred men, as the castle is small.

Vandamme has come to the lower Elbe. Montbrun, who took Lüneberg, again has marched on Stadt.

Other troops are gone upon the Elbe, and I presume the enemy will make a coup, if possible, on Hamburg; but Dinberg has repassed the Elbe to create a diversion, and he will do all that can be done with the means at his command. I am happy to say he has received the Cross of St. George: he honours it.

Blucher has his head-quarters at Luckau, Winzingerode at Leipsic. The enemy remains tranquil on the side of Magdeburg, but General Charnhotzh has given it as his opinion that the grand operations will commence on this day. Whether correct or not time will show, but I accelerate my movements accordingly; and after seeing the first shots fired to-morrow against Wittenberg, I shall the next day proceed on Leipsic to Dresden, where I expect to find Milaradowitch, and my horses. He will, of course, advance, and I shall have the satisfaction of seeing the first onset of Buonaparte's maiden forces.

If I live through this campaign, I shall have seen my share of "big wars," and I do not think that without other inducements I will pass a Russian winter to

be spectator of the next campaign. I shall prefer English service. I only hope I may have opportunities of being in the present as useful as in the last, and then, if I retire without the approbation of His Majesty's Government, I shall have the satisfaction of bearing away a good conscience and a good fame.

I do not know that I ever felt more flattered than by a trait which Prince Wolkonsky told me. As I was passing by his house at Dresden, he heard a soldier ask some others "Who I was?" The immediate and general answer was, "*Our* English General"—"*Nashe* Angliskov General." "Nashe" is more expressive in the Russian language than "our" in English: it implies, when said emphatically, "appertaining to our affections."

My time at Dessau continues to pass very agreeably. We live with the Prince, and, besides his attention, I experience the most distinguished kindness from Wittgenstein. His countess is with him, and four children. This is a weakness which surprises me, especially in a man of his firm character; but it is of an amiable species, and so long as he does not suffer his affections to prejudice the public service, he deserves charity in commentators: he promises to remove the perilous sorceress as soon as active exertions commence, and I hope *she* will have good sense enough to seek absence when the very first trumpet sounds.

The situation of the poor German princes is most deplorable. We force them to join and to give men as well as money; Buonaparte will fine them for obedience: and between these two protectors they must perish.

April 15th, Leipsic.

I left Dessau this morning. I had passed a very interesting time there. The Duke whom I went to see at Worlitz was one of those men who would be recognised as noble by all observers. His reign has been one of the most liberal beneficence; and every feature of his polity is characterised by the traits of a wise administration combined with an active personal philanthropy.

I was enabled to give the Duke useful counsels and to render him some good service. He shed tears from feelings of gratitude and regard for the English nation, which he had frequently visited, and with many individuals of which he had formed intimate friendships, especially the Claverings.

The Hereditary Prince and his family were also amiable personages, and contributed to the ornament of this most interesting domain. There were, moreover, several very pleasant families, all English in their manners and establishments.

Walmoden went the day before to take the command of all the light corps on the lower Elbe. He will, or I am much mistaken, be a distinguished officer this campaign.

General Wittgenstein strongly invited me to return, and I felt much flattered by the cordial manners of this accomplished general and honest soldier. He is really a man without guile: confident but not presumptuous; loosely active perhaps in his projects, but still a man of business. He may meet a great misfortune, but he must always acquire honour in the struggle; and he seems one of those enterprising,

straightforward characters who by their courage and their patience extricate themselves from difficulties which would greatly baffle, if not ruin, better tacticians.

I had not such good opportunity of judging of General Yorck, but, in a conversation I had with him, he spoke as an officer with a very intelligent and reflecting mind, and I am sure he will feel, that, like Macbeth, he has "set his fortunes on the die and will stand to it."

I arrived here about two o'clock, and found General Winzingerode, a brother knight of Maria Theresa and a very kind friend. We learnt at dinner that Buonaparte had left Paris on the 9th. We shall soon see whether "Richard's himself again."

After dinner I rode through the town of Leipsic amidst a most delighted throng; for here, as everywhere, the English receive willing homage.

It is a fine, rich, old city, but it has paid dear for its temporary deliverance. The Russians have levied already one hundred thousand ducats, and no one can tell the amount of the contributions in kind.

The country around is an agricultural garden. The great fair was this year very well attended, and I think every article of every country may be found here.

Winzingerode tells me that the Governor of Torgau has given his honour that he will in eight days subscribe to the following convention:—

"To join the Russians and Prussians; provided that the Saxon territory is respected as friendly, the reigning dynasty guaranteed, and Torgau to retain only a Saxon garrison."

Winzingerode thinks that the old Governor is but a feeble traitor, and dares not execute what he has pledged; but in the interim he has derived some advantage from the negotiation, for he has got from Torgau boats and arches for his bridge, and a free passage round the town. All these inclinations to defection must, I think, have an effect on Buonaparte, and show him that no tyrannic rule can perpetuate its existence. But that little Archduchess, named Empress of France, quite provokes me. She has the audacious, parricidal anti-patriotism to boast of Buonaparte's constant career of victory: to vaunt successes which have overwhelmed her family with distress and disgrace! Would that the ghosts of the Duc d'Enghien and of the many thousand Austrian warriors slain might scare her to silence! I was told, however, that the Archduchess Anthony, after the battle of Wagram, was seen to applaud that victory, saying in the public theatre when the news arrived, that defeat was the only way to obtain peace.

This evening a few French prisoners were brought in. The officer taken had left Paris only five days. He will have an agreeable and rapid journey to Smolensk and Siberia! What a derangement of a Paris beau's speculations!

[Here some part of the Journal is lost.*]

April 19th, Dresden.

I left Leipsic on the 17th, and went to Altenberg, where General Blucher and others were. I was much pleased with the town and country. The Duke of

* Note by Sir R. W.

Gotha is ruler, and merits the same encomium as at Dessau. His palace is a fine building, and nobly elevated.

The dress of the peasantry was remarkable. The men were all clothed like priests, with cocked hats; and the women had their petticoats as short as the *Milo* ladies. I had the good fortune to see a bride; and her costume was very airy, though not very light. Her garments, which reached only the top of the knee, were hooped out so that between her limbs and the woollen was at least a space of three feet. All the ladies, indeed, in this district seem to be fond of *cooling* hoops.

I ought not to have omitted that the first strange sight of this morning occurred as we were driving out of Leipsic. Our leaders struck down an old woman, who rolled and rolled, with her clothes over her head, till she settled on her back, when, in a state of stupefaction, she gathered her legs and drew them up as high as she could. In that position she remained at least while a person could have gently told two hundred. There were many spectators, it being market-day. Charles and myself have not yet recovered the terrible vision. I could not help exclaiming, "Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves shall never tremble!" It was truly a sorry sight, and long shall I remember the old woman of Leipsic.

At Altenberg I went to pay my respects to all the Princes there. It is a fine collection. First the Crown Prince, who seems very good-natured, but not so intellectual as his younger absent brother; Prince William, an old acquaintance; Prince Augustus;

Prince Ferdinand, jun., and brother to the gallant but unfortunate Prince Louis,—an officer with the command of all the Prussian artillery and a very intelligent man, with great personal manly beauty, resembling poor Carleton extremely; Prince Frederick, the nephew of the King by a brother who is dead—a very fine boy, who must do well; and the Prince of Orange, brother to *our* Prince, who, I think, is as promising and amiable a youth of sixteen as I know in any country. There was, moreover, Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, brother to the late Queen and Prince, who impresses by manners and expression of countenance most favourable traits.

My arrival was highly greeted, and there was much mutual pleasure in this meeting. I saw that the welcome was heartfelt, and, under the circumstances of our acquaintance, those must have been bad hearts that could have withheld warm reciprocation. In the evening I went to a ball, and danced one dance, in good verity not to be suspected of playing the big-wig on the occasion. There were few pretty women; but I had the good fortune to have the hand of the belle, a very nice modest girl, whose family seemed much pleased at my selection. Let it be always understood that I do not mean *little i* on these occasions, but *the English General.*

I refer to my military report for the military tidings, but with pain I saw that General Blucher did not hold his enemy in sufficient estimation, that he thought he was already in retreat and that Buonaparte himself could not leave Paris: in short, that he entertained all those illusions which have been the causes of so much military error and such national misfortune.

On the morning of the 19th, I left Altenberg, passed through a fine country, the most picturesque and the most mountainous that I have seen since I have been in these parts, but the day was Siberian. The wind blew as cold and the snow fell as thick as if it was the month of December in Russia. Here I found General Milaradowitch, and my horses, &c.; but, alas! Richard had never come up, and Allen was left dying on the other side of the Oder. Thus was I deprived of every English aid.

April 25th, Chemnitz.

I left Dresden yesterday. My residence there had been very pleasant. The Russian generals gave daily handsome fêtes, which produced corresponding attentions from the Saxon nobility. A dance given by General Ouwarrow, with supper, excelled any entertainment of the kind I ever witnessed. The entrée was indeed more interesting; for a superb hall, brilliantly illuminated, was surrounded by Russian dragoons, of extremely martial appearance, harnessed with French cuirasses which their swords had won.

The women were very pretty, very well made, very well dressed, and gracing all with the most accomplished manners. In no country did I ever see a better specimen of female education and presentation. Indeed, in England only have I ever observed anything like the *tout ensemble*; but in England there is a more affected severity, which preserves no more dignity while it prevents an amiability in social intercourse.

The Anglomania is, however, so strong in Dresden,

that the society aspires to no greater object of ambition than that of resembling the nation with which they were once more intimately connected.

I proposed to leave my name with the Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, who of all the royal family alone remained; but so soon as she heard of my being in the Palace, she came out herself and received me most graciously. I do not know that I ever passed a more agreeable colloquial half-hour than with this princess, who, although advanced in years, retains all the vivacity of her youthful spirit, with a most happy manner of expressing herself.

The conversation turned, at last, upon Buonaparte, and I made some observations about his variations of creed, that I think she will repeat to the King, who is more likely to be influenced by such remarks than by any political arguments. My opinion in favour of the Roman Catholic claims enabled me to obtain a complete personal triumph. I quite regretted the moment of departure, and I have quitted Dresden with an intellectual love for an old woman far more, I believe, than seventy years of age.

In Dresden were many things worth seeing.

1st. The Japan Palace, where there is a magnificent gallery containing some very valuable antique statues; another range of vaults containing many thousand specimens of china; and other galleries which I had not time to see, filled with various curiosities.

2nd. The armoury, which is indisputably the best and most numerous collection in the world, and full of interesting material sconnected with historical circumstances.

3rd. Though last the noblest, the Gallery of Pictures: but the best have been removed to Königgratz fortress. Sufficient, however, remains for amateurs.

The city itself is not remarkable for fine buildings, or good streets; and, although there is a tolerable German play and well-composed opera, I should think that the town must have a gloomy effect on travellers.

The Court I understand is melancholy to the highest degree; and for fear of sating the public eye with royalty, all old, antiquated, and ridiculous ceremonies to separate royalty from the knowledge of the public, and vice versâ, are preserved.

I am told that the young Prince is, by his seclusion from all intercourse with the young nobility, quite a booby. Princess Elizabeth thus becomes a greater phenomenon in such a family.

Here I read the King of Saxony's letter to the King of Prussia and the Emperor, who invited him to return to Dresden. It was a cold refusal, stating his intention to preserve his engagements which he had made for the happiness of his people. He proposes to go to Prague, and, I presume, join the confederacy that Austria is endeavouring to form against the French Rhine Confederation and Russian interference in German affairs.

I also saw the demand made by Denmark for the repossession of Hamburg and Lubeck to prevent her compromise with France; and an order for Prince Dolgorousky, the Russian Minister at Copenhagen, to surrender both cities to the Danes.

The answer to this proposition from the Minister Stein was not favourable. But although I do not con-

sider that the request of Denmark with the motive stated augurs well for the common cause, yet, believing as I do that Hamburg cannot be defended by the Allies above a few days longer, I wish, for humanity's sake, that the arrangement could be made; with the proviso "that the Danes should guarantee the 'lives and safeties all' of the inhabitants."

The corps of General Milaradowitch filed through Dresden on the 20th and 21st. The cavalry, about two thousand five hundred, was in very good condition, the artillery in unparalleled and *unparallelable* order; the infantry, about four thousand, in the best possible state. But alas! what a wreck in the total! This corps ought at least to be thirty-five thousand strong.

I sent Charles to Lord Cathcart. He returned in forty-eight hours, bringing me letters from England—last date from home, January, and from Edward, February,—with a friendly note from Mr. Cooke, of April 6th. I presume, from this difference of dates, that more letters have miscarried or are en route. This correspondence, for various reasons, added to another *offensive* disagreement, put me quite out of humour with the world and the world's spite.

I do not think I am growing a misanthrope, but Childe Harold would not find me an unsuitable companion. The flowers of hope no longer bloom in my view. Her roses, her lilies, her evergreen laurels, I can contemplate with indifference and feel no inclination to plant or to nourish them. This is not the momentary sentiment of a testy humour or a vexed spirit, but the product of an extensive observation and long experience. I am not ungrateful for the

good which I have enjoyed in my passage, but I see that the order of things is adverse to my action; and even when Fortune is most propitious to others, she can yet establish for me no solid enjoyment.

I have also the peculiar ill-luck not to have been born an ass, that could be satisfied to eat provender without a care for my master's interest.

I shall adopt the poetical philosophy of the authors of 'Rejected Addresses,' for which I am much obliged to Jemima, and say—

> "Thinking is but an idle waste of thought;
> And nought is everything, and everything is nought."

At Dresden I received letters from Mr. Liston to March 8. He mentions that old matters are revived by the Turks, but he cannot, of course, again employ me in the negotiation.

There also I found Major Macdonald on his way to Constantinople, whom I had left at Berlin. He had seen Lord Cathcart, who begged of him to remain a few days at Dresden. Colonel Campbell, from England, also joined us. He, too, had been with Lord Cathcart, and met with a reception which he little expected from what he had heard in England; for Lord Cathcart sent him off with all speed to hide himself, as it were, and now intends to make him "serve as a volunteer," although he is colonel on the British staff, and was sent out to obtain and report information. The Emperor approves of his executing the orders which have been given him; and yet, to prevent confidence, to degrade the appointment and the officer, the term "volunteer" is deliberately used and insisted on by Lord Cathcart.

A volunteer is a nobody in estimation, and must be exposed to a thousand chagrins. He has no rights, no protection, and must depend on the favour, not of the general in command, but of the lowest subaltern in the army, perhaps of the very soldiery.

I gave my voluntary aid in battle to the Russians for their immediate interest; but it is a recognised British general who does it, and that increases the power to make the present and enhances its value.

I would rather dig and delve for my bread, than submit to any *avilissement* of my station, to gratify the low feelings of a jealous spirit.

My letters to Lord Cathcart on the subject will, I hope, be approved by those who read them; but to appreciate them justly they must first imagine themselves *me*, with all my pretensions, not only in the British service, but for Russia's service; not forgetting Malo-Jaroslavets and its consequences.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD VISCOUNT CATHCART.

Dresden, April 21st, 1813.

I have had the honour to receive by my aide-de-camp your Lordship's letter.

I regret that the tour * which I made with the view of acquiring accurate information for your Lordship was not a measure that obtained your approbation. I conceived it to be the best mode of employing time during the march of General Milaradowitch, and that your Lordship's conversation at Kalish related to residence with, and not to passage by, the armies and corps I visited in my course to rejoin General Milaradowitch.

The officer to whom I entrusted my diary at Dessau

* See Appendix. Letter to Lord Cathcart, Fraustadt, March 28th, 1813.

had been a British officer, is a Hanoverian subject, and I thought he would execute his engagement to deliver my letter into your Lordship's own hands; but, with the exception of one or two names passing under other notice than that of your Lordship or his Imperial Majesty, I am not aware that, except as a violation of the confidence of correspondence addressed to a British Ambassador, the perusal could be injurious to any common interest.

Your Lordship seems to censure my attempts to obtain information, and to intimate that there must be a misapprehension on the part of the Russian officers in command as to the nature of my employment, otherwise they would not give me such confidential intelligence.

It is necessary for me to state to your Lordship that I assume no character anywhere which can convey a false impression of my situation.

I present myself as a British general officer employed on your Lordship's staff—consequently as an officer in the service of my country—directed to communicate with your Lordship and Mr. Liston. I have felt myself entitled to the consideration which belongs to such an authorised residence and employment. But the Russian Commanders, after four campaigns' experiment of my loyalty and zeal on every occasion, naturally give me a personal confidence which they would withhold from persons with whom they had not formed such relations of common service.

They trust to my discretion to apply it to the common good, and they entertain no unworthy suspicion of my having a distinct interest.

I might perhaps add, without meriting a charge of

presumptous vanity, that they also are not indifferent to the communication of my opinion, after a knowledge of the real state of mutual means, positions, &c.

I hope your Lordship will not think that I am disposed to cavil about terms; but if your Lordship proposes to attach me as a "volunteer," with any restriction as to the confidence of the General in command, I must at once prevent such a degradation by withdrawing altogether from the service in which I am now engaged.

I am a British general officer, officially employed by His Majesty's Government; I am placed under your Lordship's orders; I am authorised by His Imperial Majesty to reside at his army as a recognised British general on your Lordship's staff to execute your Lordship's instructions; and I was commanded by His Imperial Majesty moreover to promote his interests in any way that I thought expedient, preserving a communication with His Imperial Majesty.

As a specimen of the relations of personal confidence and friendship which I have had the honour to form, I send your Lordship a note which I have just received from His Royal Highness the Duke of Wurtemberg. It certainly is a flattering testimony of his private consideration on account of services *which alone*—and not any erroneous representation of my appointment—have obtained for me His Royal Highness's favour.

I shall, according to your Lordship's wish, return to head-quarters early in the week, if no military incidents of importance occur to detain me in advance, when I will send my aide-de-camp.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

ROBERT WILSON.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD VISCOUNT CATHCART.

Dresden, April 23, 1813.

In reading over your Lordship's letter again, the paragraph which notices your Lordship's intention "to obtain the necessary letters of authorisation for me to serve as a volunteer with the to-be-named corps, from Field Marshal Kutusow," strikes me with so much apprehension of a misunderstanding, that I must beg of your Lordship to forgive my trespassing with further observations.

My instructions from His Majesty's Government are to "consider myself as a British officer effectually employed on your Lordship's staff to report military events in progress, and to communicate (before your Lordship's arrival at the army) with Mr. Liston."

"If His Imperial Majesty approves of my residence with his armies, to communicate with your Lordship and obey your Lordship's orders." His Majesty recognises my official appointment, and the term "volunteer" is not adapted to an officer in execution of office under authority.

Any young man making his first essay, or pursuing his private pleasure, may be a "volunteer;" but the term is not suited to my situation, nor can I deprive myself of the official character and consideration, in any allied army, which appertains to the presence of a British general officer, serving there under the authority of his Government and with the sanction of His Imperial Majesty.

It would be very unpleasant for me to be obliged to protest against any phrase used by the Marshal; but I could be the bearer of no letter expressing itself according to the tenor of your Lordship's paragraph.

When I went to join the Russian army from S. Petersburg, His Imperial Majesty did not think it necessary to provide me with any letter, and I need none. Let your Lordship only designate the corps, and I will, with the Emperor's and the Marshal's sanction, obtain a cordial and suitable reception from the officer in command. I am even willing to remain where I am, because, although the force is small, I am confident that, wherever General Milaradowitch is, *there* will be a post of honour.

But should your Lordship not be inclined to change the term for my employment, I shall beg of your Lordship to let me be put under the orders of Sir Charles Stuart, until I can receive instructions from England after my representation of this deviation from the appointment which Lord Castlereagh communicated to me. During this interval of the suspension of my official duty as an efficient British general officer, I shall have no objection to serve as a volunteer with the Prussian army, if Sir Charles Stuart cannot attach me to it with any charge.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

ROBERT WILSON.

CONTINUATION OF DIARY.

On the road from Dresden I fell in with the Weimar Three-hundred Corps, who had surrendered by arrangement, to the Prussians at Eisenach. They are mostly young boys, very well clothed. I also met Charnhotzh, who told me he was going to head-quarters to fix the plan of campaign, as not a moment was

to be lost: the enemy having advanced with all his disposable forces, and occupied the line of the Saal with a hundred and ten thousand men, exclusive of Beauharnois' forty thousand. He conceived that they would advance immediately, and move by Leipsic on Wittenberg and Glogau. He agreed with me that we had no alternative but the desperate one of meeting and giving battle before the enemy marched, or retiring. In the former case energy must supply the want of numbers, and activity prevent the seizure and use of more advantageous positions; in the latter case we must clear a way to the rear, resist with detached corps as much as possible the progress of the enemy, but then, "on s'en repentira" that the Elbe was crossed by the *Courts*.

The Marshal has had a glimpse of the enemy, and is taken ill very *opportunely*. Perhaps it is a "Kamenskoi" stratagem, to get rid of the responsibility which is about to attach heavily somewhere. Austria will certainly interfere to insist on new arrangements for Germany: but she will not, I fear, act in time to avert the impending blow, and I suspect still that she does not wish it.

26*th*.—Every hour brings some tidings of the enemy's movement in advance, but I refer again to my military report for that intelligence. It is actually necessary that I should in future keep copies of all that I write to Lord Cathcart. I cannot expose those copies to the hazards of war, and therefore I send them to England as confidential papers for preservation. I only lament that I did not pursue this plan earlier, and particularly with various demi-official letters, which, beginning "My dear Lord," will of course

never be reproduced. They contained the great arcana of what was going on.

Before I left Dresden I had the satisfaction to have an order from the Minister Stein to draw for the full amount of the sums I proposed for the purchase of Stettin and Custrin. If I can effect the negotiation, as he says in the document, "Three months' use of the river will repay the same, exclusive of all the military and political importance of these places as fortresses." It is a great satisfaction to have such a proof of my judicious application of responsibility.

I may truly say, if my military counsel had been adopted, which was in unison with the counsel of others, Buonaparte would no longer have been in authority; and if my political counsel had been followed, Germany would now have been clear to the Rhine, and the Allies would have held securities for suitable arrangements.

I certainly feel mortified at the treatment I am experiencing from my own national protectors (from no others, for I have only to express gratitude to all foreigners for general kindness), but I shall in the ensuing campaign endeavour to enjoy a glorious vengeance; and instead of desponding with disgust, I will strive to make courage mount with the occasion, and in such a case I shall ambition the compulsory praise of adversaries.

Although a thousand circumstances combine to make me sick, I feel my powers renovate as the cry "They come!" augments; and if I have not the tranquil mind and content, I am sensible to all the glow of the approaching hour; without, however, setting up the golden calf of glory for worship.

By dint of great personal surveillance and energy I have also got myself in good marching order. I do not think any man can pass me, or remain longer in the field, from the possession of a better stud of chargers. I purchased this day a noble dove-grey, or rather milk-white, on which General Ilovaisky was killed at Wilna, and which was wounded with General Winzingerode on his back at Kalish. They think in Russia "Luck's all in man or beast;" and so they sold the unfortunate a bargain, considering his real value. My creed is "Every bullet has its billet," so I coin with my faith. The "little Turk" is the admiration of soldiers and citizens. He is the greatest beauty that can be seen of his kind, and I hope he will survive to make his appearance in England. I have various others; but my stud, although as good as the countries afford, is not British, and a British general and horseman should have British horses for his credit as well as for his pleasure.

This is a very pretty town, and extremely prosperous: indeed I never saw throughout a richer and finer country; all is pleasing to the eye and the mind. But, as an Englishman, I am chagrined to see a very extensive *spinning manufactory* set up by *an Englishman:* it has succeeded so well that he is going to build another at Rochlitz. He has not called on me; if he does I shall frankly say I can make no acquaintance with a man who injures his country from any selfish motives. The Prince Royal of Prussia passed through this place this morning on his way to Dresden. I went to see him, and he really is so friendly that I am sure, by his manner of showing his attachments, he has a good heart. His departure at such a moment

makes me suspect that the King intends to keep him at the Imperial head-quarters during these critical times; and that the army—GRAND from the grandeur of its chiefs and merits, but not its numbers, alas!—will not advance.

April 30th, Altenberg.

I left Chemnitz on the 29th, and went to Penig. Here I discovered that an English horse belonging to me and another belonging to Charles had the glanders, so I was obliged to shoot them both. I had given in Russia fifty pounds for mine, and Charles gave sixty pounds for his. I shall be satisfied if the first misfortune is the last; but I greatly fear for the rest of my stud, especially as many of the Prussian horses are glandered.

I came here this day: my military report will state why and wherefore, and the et cetera. It is a most critical moment. God protect the good cause, and make us victorious! If we triumph, it will indeed be a success beyond human powers and Russian courage, as we are situated, and all Europe should sing *Te Deums*.

I see as visibly as my own a higher hand in all our late operations; but whether its working be for good or for evil to us, the event must show. While I was here, a Mr. Gordon came in search of Lord Cathcart. This Mr. Gordon, who is a very fine young man apparently, has entered into the Russian hussar guards, although he is on navy half-pay as a lieutenant. Lord Cathcart, on quitting Dresden, would not name to him the place where he might rejoin head-quarters, but told him to steer west and he would find

it: which was very diplomatic, as well as nautical, *but* not very indicatively precise.

My second visit to Altenberg has made me acquainted with an old tale of great German celebrity. Two hundred and fifty years since, a man having quarrelled with the Elector of Saxony, then in possession of this city, resolved to steal his two sons—children—out of the fortress palace; and he executed his achievement with surprising boldness and success: but as he was carrying them through the forests of Bohemia, one of the children contrived to let a coal-carrier know his rank and misfortune. The collier with a few followers rescued the princes, and brought the offender to Altenberg, where he was beheaded an hour too soon for his longer life, though perhaps not for his happiness: a reprieve and pardon had been sent, but arrived sixty minutes too late. The window at which he made his entrance and exit is still shown.

May 3rd, Langdorff.

Charles joined me on the 1st, and brought me a carte blanche for my movements to the centre and left of the Russian army. Captain Dering also came from Sir Charles Stuart, and brought me letters which I enclose, and which could not fail of giving me pleasure as containing clear evidence of a sincere friendship.

In the evening I rode towards Borna, where I heard the Imperial head-quarters were; but as a cannonade commenced, I turned off as I was entering the village, and rode towards Zwenkau; but the firing having abruptly ceased, I returned, after a ride of fifty wersts.

The next morning I packed up bag and baggage,

and moved from Altenberg in the direction of Lutzen, where I proposed to find General Winzingerode. When I had ridden about fourteen wersts, the cannonade commenced again, and I pushed on with all speed to the field of battle, distant about two more German miles. I reached it about ten o'clock in the morning. From the moment I entered, until eight o'clock at night, I do not think I was thirty minutes out of a continued storm of shot and bullets.

It was a furious combat of artillery, more especially, and such as modern wars only present.

It was my good fortune, aided by Colonel Campbell, my aides-de-camp Charles and Brinken, and at the moment Dawson whom I met in the field, to rally the Prussians, as they were flying from Glogau and extending panic through the Russians; to enter with them, sword in hand, and carry the village, which was maintained until night when three French columns again threatened to retake it. I then rode to acquaint Count Wittgenstein. The Emperor met me, asked me the tidings, and, with his and the Count's orders, I took a Prussian reserve, put myself at their head, and, uniting with the Russians still disputing the skirts, again drove the enemy back upon Lutzen. I do not mention these traits from a vanity that would derogate from the acts, but I have two motives: first, as a family memorial for the imitation of my children, who, I hope, will always be ready, like myself, to sacrifice their all for the public good; and, secondly, to show, that although I pronounced a strong opinion previously against the possibility of successful resistance on this side of the Elbe, still I did not let my judgment and prediction influence my action, but

endeavoured to do all in my power to prove their fallacy. I hope, also, it will not be suspected that I exaggerate the advantages of my efforts. To British evidence I can add General Charnhotzh's, and, for the last exertions, the whole of the spectators assembled round the Emperor.

It was a severe day, but I never felt more equal to the need. Such is the effect of a moral excitement; for as to food, I had none, nor even one drop of water, for thirty hours! I was quite unhappy to see the poor Prussians slaughtered from mismanagement. They are fine material, but they require exactly what has been done with the Portuguese—the loan of British leaders to train their own. The cavalry, however, are perfect. I never saw such steadiness: it is quite incredible. I was obliged to ride up to several squadrons, to express my admiration. The King was on the field, and behaved very well. I had two or three opportunities of seeing him, and I lamented to him the unnecessary exposure of his brave horsemen, which he also regretted. The young Princes also were present, and showed much firmness. The eldest, Prince Ferdinand, had a horse killed under him.

Poor Charles was wounded immediately after quitting me. He told me he would take the horse round the village, while I pierced with the infantry. His wound is a great injury to the public service. I do not dwell upon my predictions respecting the passage of the Elbe, but never was a military calculation better verified.

I passed a cold night and, as Charles was missing, a very uneasy one; but he turned up in the morning. I lost him in the attacks of the enemy at Gera. The

next morning I quitted the field with the rear-pickets, as I wished to see the enemy's deployment of forces. He showed a considerable body of infantry and cavalry in his position, but no great number advanced. Hitherto he has suffered us quietly to retire; although he might have distressed us greatly. I hope he will continue to be as forbearing on this side the Elbe.

During last night's march I lost my servant, my horse, with all my baggage on him, box with papers, money, &c., and a fine mare; but I am still in hopes that they have not taken the road to Leipsic, although there is great probability. This second loss would be great, and the capture of the papers mischievous.

We are now, I presume, on march for the Vistula, although I think I could keep the war between the Oder and the Elbe afloat through the summer. When we get behind the Vistula, I conceive Buonaparte will not this year press us much further; and, if he returns, I will hie to England on leave.

Poor Rodney, who came to me at Altenberg, has lost a leg.

The Marshal's death is kept a secret. He died most opportunely for his fame.

MEMORANDUM OF THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN, FOUGHT MAY 2ND, 1813.

Rochlitz, May 2nd.

Count Wittgenstein, having resolved to attack the enemy, left General Kleist with a small corps at Leipsic, and advanced against Weissenfels; but in the evening of the 1st he was obliged, after a sharp can-

nonade, to leave the enemy in possession of Lutzen and Gera.

Two small villages, called Great and Little Görschen, separated by a couple of hundred yards of open ground through which a high road ran, lay in front of Eyersdorff. Both villages were full of trees, and on the right was the village of Rahno.

Eyersdorff was separated from the wooded skirts of these villages by a stream and sort of natural glacis, about four hundred yards in length, and the village itself was situated on the crest of the glacis in a very commanding position, to the strength of which the enemy had added by art.

On the right of the Görschens and Eyersdorff was a plain; on the left extended a tract of woody country, in the front of which the ground was open.

Count Wittgenstein proposed to cut off the troops posted in the two Görschens. The attempt was made about 10 o'clock in the morning, but failed from want of accurate combination in the cavalry attacks, which were designed to prevent the enemy's retreat upon Eyersdorff.

The enemy lost the first village, but again occupied it, and a heavy fire of artillery opened from the batteries of both armies. The Allies brought up their cavalry notwithstanding upon the plain, and kept them within musket-shot of the enemy's positions. The enemy, on the contrary, showed very few troops, but seemed to invite the cavalry to an unequal combat, which the cavalry did not decline, thus proving the possession of a steady fortitude which entitled them to great admiration, but which was very much misapplied.

About mid-day the enemy was driven back, with the loss of several guns, upon Eyersdorff, and the Allies hoped to carry that village, but were baffled. After great efforts and much carnage on the glacis between the Görschens and Eyersdorff, the Allies were obliged to fall back and abandon both Görschens.

A panic was extending, and even the Russians in reserve were wavering, when the Russians were rallied, reconducted to the attack, and again the Görschens were recovered.

Further attempts were made to take Eyersdorff, but all proved ineffectual, not only from the strength of the position, but from want of method and system in the attack.

The cannonade on both sides during this time was furious, and continued without intermission until dark.

About 4 o'clock the greater part of 30,000 men, whom the enemy had detached to Leipsic, returned and announced their arrival to friend and foe by an increased fire of artillery.

About 7 o'clock the enemy again advanced from Eyersdorff in several columns, but some Prussian battalions of reserve being thrown into the Görschens, and the Russian battalions on the right showing great steadiness and intrepidity, the attack was repulsed.

Towards dark the enemy again wished to lodge themselves in the Görschens, as a point of honour, and stole forward in small parties to the skirts, where they kept up a sharp tirailleur fire.

During the principal attacks the enemy made attempts also to turn the right of the Allies, and severe engagements were fought in that quarter during the whole day, but the enemy made no progress.

At night the firing, which had continued near twelve hours, ceased.

The result of this battle was the acquisition of about two wersts of ground, sixteen guns, several hundred prisoners, and considerable military honour; but the losses of the Russians were not less than 5000 men, and of the Prussians, 15,000 hors de combat.

All the Allied forces in the field, amounting to about 70,000, had been in fire, and no reserves remained towards night.

The corps of Kleist, near Leipsic, 6000 strong, and of Milaradowitch, on march from Zeitz to Pegau, did not join the army until the next morning.

The Russian ammunition was nearly expended, and the Prussian infantry, from want of experienced officers, had been brought so loosely into action that great disorder prevailed, and the field was covered with the scattered wanderers of their battalions.

No troops could show more impetuous courage or more ready good-will altogether, but no troops could have to contend with greater disadvantages from the want of proper direction.

The enemy's troops, many of whom were very young, were much more skilfully managed, and consequently better preserved; but it was evident that Buonaparte thought it necessary to nurse the inexperience of his troops.

The Allies continued on the field of battle until 9 o'clock of the ensuing morning, when a retrograde movement to repass the Elbe at Meissen and Dresden was ordered, lest the enemy should occupy with a column from Wittenberg the right bank; this opera-

tion his superior force would have enabled him to undertake.

This movement—in which many of the columns were obliged to take a circuit round Leipsic and to pass through very difficult defiles, to the execution of which there were many impediments from the number of waggons with wounded breaking in upon the columns, and from want of arrangement in the progress through towns, &c.,—has afforded and still affords to the enemy favourable opportunity to harass the Allies; but as yet they have not profited by it.

The Emperor, the King of Prussia, and all the Prussian princes were very frequently in heavy fire. Their chief station was a tumulus or barrow, marked in the sketch, and which overlooked the field.

R. W.

This Memorandum was not sent to Lord Cathcart, as he was in the field. I only sent his Lordship a *précis* of my observations on the conduct of the troops.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO H.R.H. THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

SIR, Bautzen, May 10th, 1813.

I have the honour to profit by a sudden opportunity which presents itself for a communication with England, and to acquaint your Royal Highness that the Allied army, about seventy thousand strong, including Barclay, who has arrived with the Thorn troops, occupies the position in front of Hochkirch, and that its advanced guard keeps Bautzen and the line of the River Spree.

The enemy's corps, between thirty and forty thousand strong, is posted on the heights, about a cannon-shot distance.

The left of the Allies has an *appui* on the ridge of mountains that connect with the Bohemian frontier (and through which Daun passed), with their right thrown back. The enemy have their right also appuied upon these mountains, but it is, at least, three wersts from the point of the left which occupies the ground in front of Bautzen. The enemy's main body is advancing along a superior line to the Oder, and Regnier's corps has already reached Cottbus.

The fear of displeasing Austria, who promises to make her declaration on the 1st of June, induces us to remain on a flank where we hazard our communications with the Vistula, and expose ourselves to many inconveniences from want of provisions, stores, &c.—perhaps also to an attack where the enemy would have the advantage of greatly superior numbers and ground very favourable for his troops, which also will have been greatly improved by the exchange of the most inexperienced with the garrisons. However, as yet it must be stated that the young fight as well as the old, and we have been able to distinguish no difference of conduct.

Austria's co-operation is certainly most important; but, although Stadion wishes the Allies to keep their ground and fight rather than retire, I am not satisfied that his Government would draw the sword if the Allies sustained a signal defeat—and I am sure, if she did, she would then enter into a doubtful contest; whereas, by the preservation of what we have until

she is ready to act, Buonaparte would be obliged to withdraw to the Elbe.

We were assured that Poniatowski had agreed to file through Bohemia. It now appears that this arrangement was not completed.

In the present situation of the Allies, I look with terror to the renovation of the Polish insurrection.

Russia would be able to send no succour except under the escort of armies which she has not, and the provinces of Podolia and Wolhynia would afford reserves in men and horses and supplies of all kinds that would give the insurrection a more formidable character than it has yet assumed. The Allies would then have only Silesia, and, if Austria joined, Bohemia as the base of operations; but, if Austria did not join, we should be cooped up in Silesia, or be obliged to fight our way through Poland under every disadvantage.

I cannot but admire the gallantry of the spirit that *now* animates our councils; but I much fear that it is not seasonable. There was a time when the war might have been ended by a mere rampart of arms; but now science resumes her sceptre.

The Allies in their note to Austria agree to make peace on condition of Spain and Holland being declared independent, of Prussia's re-establishment in full integrity, of Poland's original partition, the dissolution of the Rhine Confederation, &c.; and the question of maritime rights they leave to the arrangements of France and England. Here is war, during Buonaparte's life at least, proclaimed.

It is impossible that Buonaparte can be ignorant of

Austria's intentions. He knows the value of time—will he not avail himself of the interval allowed him if he believes that Austria is seriously resolved to maintain her threats of hostility? Bubna is in his camp: he cannot, therefore, for a moment cease to regulate his movements according to his knowledge of Austria's intentions; but I see him in progress, and I trace the outline of a plan of campaign that expresses no apprehension of Austria at the moment, and I much fear that he is better informed of Metternich's policy than even Count Stadion, and of the springs that will direct it more to his advantage than we at present presume.

If the Allies would but place their army in a state of security, to avoid an early misfortune, there might indeed be great hopes of preserving what is yet left and redeeming something in other quarters.

It is strange but true that we have very little good information of what is passing in the enemy's army, and as yet there are very few deserters. We founded great hopes on the defection of the German contingents; but they pelt us most vigorously with their shot whenever they come into action. At the battle of Lutzen they were particularly *vicious*. The King of Prussia deeply feels the loss of his army on that day. His best officers were killed or wounded, and his guards especially suffered; but, whatever may have been the faults in the direction of Prussian courage on that occasion, the proud and complete redemption of Prussian honour was perhaps not too dearly purchased.

I never before saw cavalry receive or endure such a fire of shot and shell for seven or eight successive hours; and I felt obliged to ride to several of the

Commanders, particularly of the Silesian cuirassiers, to express my admiration.

I have not received the enemy's account; but I think he will be honest enough to do justice to the valour of his opponents.

The passage of the Elbe afforded another brilliant opportunity for the display of heroic fortitude, but in another arm and in the Russian service. The Russian artillery on that occasion showed a contempt of shot, shell and grape, with a cross-fire, that no one can credit who did not see it. Domineering position, superiority of number and of weight of metal, seemed to have no other influence and effect than that of causing increased destruction.

The affairs of rear-guard have been generally severe on both sides; but the French have never been able to break in and cause any disorder. Notwithstanding that we had in our column thirteen thousand carriages, we did not abandon any; and I can certify to this, having been constantly with the rear-guard.

On some of these occasions, however, the French astonished me by their intrepidity in advancing to dislodge the Russian artillery, notwithstanding its well-directed and close fire.

From all appearances, the campaign will be a very sanguinary one. All parties seem high-mettled, and not to heed carnage; but, notwithstanding the note of the Allies and the language of Buonaparte, I do conceive that this will be the last. Europe is too exhausted to sustain such giant contests for any length of time.

Towards the end of the battle of Lutzen, when the Emperor allowed me the honour of advancing with some battalions to repel the last attack of the enemy

on the village of Görschen, I received a blow on my leg from the fragment of a shell which has annoyed me by a strong suppuration and great pain, because I neglected it; but it is now rapidly getting well. I mention this to your Royal Highness that you may be acquainted with the real state of the injury in case it should be mentioned; but I did not note it to Lady Wilson, lest she should feel unnecessary uneasiness.

I shall thank your Royal Highness to communicate to Lord Grey and Lord Hutchinson the *novelties* I may have afforded in this letter, and I beg of your Royal Highness to consider me as one of your most faithful and attached servants.

ROBERT WILSON.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

THE PLAIN OF TROY.

No. 1.

Supposed Site of Ancient Troy.

That Homer's historical authenticity should ever have been made a question by Mr. Bryant, or rather that the sceptical opinions of some ancient writers should have been revived and supported by his science and power of investigation, is matter of regret. The suspicion of fable weakens the interest of the poem, and this interest may be deemed useful for the purposes of education. Those, however, have been guilty of an inconsiderate zeal who have attempted to verify the records of the poem by historical surveys made under the influence of the imagination. The theory of these dreamers does not condescend to combat the chronology, statistics, and etymological definitions of Mr. Bryant; but boldly appeals to the evidence of the still existing testimonies of nature, as well as to the memorials raised by human hands. The traveller, who has clung with devotional attachment to this magical authority, confidently enters on the consecrated plain, eager to reach the imperishable monuments of true history. At every step he antici-

pates approach to the proofs of the reality of those events which the genius of the poet adorned, but had not, as he hopes and believes, entirely created.

His plenary faith and his active fancy are, however, doomed to experience painful disappointment, and the enthusiast alone can finally remain a proselyte to a system demanding the antecedent surrender of that reason which the calmer inquirer preferred to exercise in its support.

It is a system which commences by the conversion of dry land into a bay, which transposes the names of rivers and their sources, excavates navigable beds of which no trace remains, proves by rules of algebra that a multiplication of cold springs composes and constitutes a warm spring, and that the site of a town built on several eminences and on the border of an abrupt precipice is the site of that Troy which was built on a *plain*—a system which, after every needed concession, presents a *carte du pays* that must be rejected by every man who has studied the principles and practice of ancient and modern war. Mr. Chevalier determines the river Mendereh to be the Scamander on which the right of the Trojan camp was placed: the camp would thus have occupied, between the Sigæan and Rhœtean provinces, a space of three miles and a-half. An able writer in the 'Edinburgh Review' has adverted to the circumstances stated by Homer—that the line of shore occupied by the Greeks was too contracted for twelve hundred vessels to be drawn up in one line, and that they were consequently drawn up in a triple row; to the fact of Agamemnon's voice being heard on each flank from a station in the centre; and to the distance of this station from the presumed

town, which would militate against the narrative of various incidents which Homer states to have occurred during and after the battles. But sufficient stress has not been laid upon the improbable establishment of a camp separated from the town by a great, deep, and navigable river, over which no mention is once made of bridges, but which must have been passed by Grecians and Trojans daily before they could come into and retire from conflict.

The Mendereh flows in front within a quarter of a mile of the supposed site of ancient Troy, and sweeps round two-thirds of its *enceinte*. Even in summer the river is so rapid and deep that great bodies of troops could pass only with difficulty, and the soil is of a nature rather to loosen than connect by pressure. In winter the passage for horsemen would be impossible, and yet one hundred thousand Greeks and fifty thousand Trojans must have passed and repassed constantly, and twice in one memorable day.

Mr. Morrett has selected another station for his Greek encampment, but the military objections are multiplied. The front of his camp is covered by marshes, a navigable river, and a considerable height on the southern bank which commands the passage.

An army of Greeks, encumbered by so many carriages, must have occupied several days to deploy from such a camp; and the camp itself must have been domineered by a very lofty coast-ridge on the right, respecting which elevated ground Homer is altogether silent. The passage of rivers or even streams has always presented great and recorded impediments in ancient and modern war. The poet would have dwelt, or dilated rather upon this, in order to increase

the interest of the operations or profit by its associating imagery.

When Priam passed to and fro, even then no notice is taken of the intervening waters; and it is only at the beginning of the twenty-first book that Homer mentions the flight of a part of the Trojans across the Xanthus (Mr. Chevalier's Simois), while the other portion reached the town across the plain.

This latter movement was impossible unless they headed the sources of that supposed Simois in Mount Ida, distant above thirty miles and from which they were, moreover, separated by a branch of the Mendereh flowing north and south. By deviating from Homer's clear statement of the distinguishing characteristics of the Simois and Scamander, confusion has been introduced into the description which it is very difficult to disentangle; but it is easy to demonstrate that the newly-named Simois and Scamander have no relation to the Simois and Scamander of Homer.

The modern Simois has its source in Mount Ida, and is a considerable river. The modern Scamander is a petty stream, formed by a number of springs which afford scarcely sufficient water when collected in an artificial and very narrow channel to turn a mill that has been erected within a few years.

Homer's Simois had two springs—one hot, one cold—near the Scæan gate. Homer's Scamander had its source in Ida, and was a great river—so great as to have the appellation of *divine*, and so revered that Hector named his son after it.

No. 2.

ITINERARY.

JOURNEY MADE FROM THE TOWN OF THE DARDANELLES TO CARABOYA BY A ROUTE ACROSS MOUNT IDA.

The town of the Dardanelles contains four hundred and sixty houses of a mean description, and there is no remarkable feature to attract attention except the Castle of Abydos, situated close upon the shore. The walls of the castle are very lofty, and some heavy guns are fixed in the works; but the celebrated great gun has been removed outside, and is established on the left of the castle, facing the channel. Its companion burst; and the town was so much shattered by the explosion of the gun still remaining, that its discharge will probably never be repeated. The threat, however, is made by the Aga whenever he writes to exact an extraordinary impost from the inhabitants, and it is called his *Minister of Finance*.

The first three miles of the route to Ida are along the shore, in a southern direction; the road then takes a south-east course. The country begins to be hilly about the sixth mile, and cultivation is confined to the interjacent valleys. Pines and shrubs cover the heights. The distance to Bairamitch is thirty-five miles. The villages of Calubokli, Vehukali, and Idala are passed, but the former lie a little on the left of the road. On the western side of Idala a branch of the Menderch flows.

The valley of Bairamitch commences on the eastern side, and the principal stream of the Menderch intersects this plain. Within a mile of the town of Baira-

mitch a bridge is thrown over this branch, as the waters are deep in winter.

The town of Bairamitch is situated on an isolated hill. It contains an Aga's residence, three hundred houses, and a considerable caravanserai. The name of the present Aga is Osman Bey—a hale man, about seventy years of age, well known to many of the English, as he commanded at the Dardanelles when the passage of the British fleet was effected. His reception of English travellers proved that no circumstances had occurred in these transactions to render him personally inimical to the English nation.

The vale of Bairamitch, luxuriant in vegetation, well cultivated, and abounding in horses and cattle of every kind, extends on the south-west to the Seivrojeck or Gargarus mountains; on the west, to the Usaklyah range; on the north-east, to the province of Choug; and on the east, to the mountains of Ida.

The level ground between the Usaklyah and the Ida ranges does not appear to exceed nine miles; but the actual intervening distance is at least twenty-seven miles. From Bairamitch to Little Bunarbashi—Chevalier's presumed site of Troy—is a distance of twenty-four miles along the banks of the Mendereh, and the following towns are situated on the route:—

	Miles.
Agaskeia	2
Great Bunarbashi	8
Turkimeli	3
Emieh	2
Little Bunarbashi	9
	24

The first village from Bunarbashi, in the direction of

Ida, is Karsaleppa, two miles; then on to Resordkow, five miles. Here the country becomes more mountainous. Six miles from Resordkow the river Minechli whose source is in the Ida, and whose stream flows into the Mendereh, near Bairamitch, intersects the road. The town of Ergillac lies five miles further on the road, and the river Mendereh is again passed for the fourth time. From Ergillac to the mountain of Ida is a distance of two miles and a-half, of which the last mile is open, level, and fertilised country. The mountain of Ida rises abruptly at the extremity of this plain, and with a very steep ascent. Five miles and a-half from the base and a little to the left of the principal tract, one of the lower summits of Ida elevates an independent crest and, extending in an east and west direction, forms a flank bastion to the parent mountain.

This summit is called Megara, and the river Mendereh is supposed to spring in its interior cavities. The height of the Megara rock or cliff is about two hundred yards, and the water which forms the river flows from a lofty and broad aperture, at an elevation of about eighty yards. A difficult ascent permits access to this aperture—there are more than one at this point—but the rock then becomes perpendicular. On the left of what may be termed the two mouths of Mendereh is another aperture, but much smaller. Through this no water passes; at least in summer. It has indeed rather the appearance of an artificial than of a natural branch of communication with the interior gallery. By this aperture the explorers enter, and immediately find themselves in a marble cave some feet above the bed of the Mendereh, which sweeps before them with great noise and rapidity, through a

marble gallery about sixteen feet in height and eight in breadth. The air, on entrance, strikes a chill, and the water is so cold that few persons adventure, especially after the exertion of the ascent, to enter and wade against the current of the stream; notwithstanding that the description of the interior excavations strongly prompts curiosity. The guide, however, who is a woodman of Ida, always presents himself with his pine-torches to conduct those whose investigating ardour prevails over considerations of comfort or of health. A serpentine gallery, of about eighty yards long, leads to the first chamber, which is very lofty and of considerable expanse. The portal of another gallery is soon visible after entrance, and this gallery leads into a second chamber, which also communicates successively with other galleries and chambers of equal dimensions. It is pretended that these subterranean works, occasionally expanding and contracting, extend several miles; and the woodmen of Ida assert that although there have been adventurers among them who have persevered in the enterprise to a very great distance, none ever reached their termination or the spring of the waters—of which the average depth, through the whole of the distance, is about two feet: but there are occasionally deep holes, formed by the action of the current in the marble channel, which render close coasting on the sides of the channel very expedient.

The water which issues from the apertures first falls about thirty yards perpendicularly; it is then tossed several hundred feet from salient points and fragments until it reaches the channel which conducts its course through the valley.

The whole scene is imposingly magnificent, and the excavations are certainly some of Nature's most surprising tunnelling achievements.

Two miles from the point which must be regained to continue the ascent of the principal mountain of Ida, the Alchucka streamlet flows round a small plot of open ground, where the Aga of Bairamitch frequently pitches his tent for several days, that he may hunt the wolves which abound in this district. Three miles further, a Turcoman colony occupies an open tract during the summer months, and their herds of cattle, horses, &c., appeared to be very numerous. These aborigines are a dark, athletic race, professing deism, enjoying their own laws and customs, and subject only to the payment of a small tribute to the Aga of Bairamitch for permission to use the pasturage of Ida, and to reside during the winter unmolested in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. Their food chiefly consists of a variety of milk diet, and their butter, made from the cow, is of the best quality. Their huts are covered with a thick woollen cloth, and in form resemble very much the Caffre huts. They seem to be possessors and admirers of female beauty, and not jealous of its admiration by strangers. Their chief anxiety is the protection of their herds and flocks from the wolves, which, notwithstanding the vigilance and fierceness of numerous large dogs, make great ravages.*

A mile further, and Ida ceased to be decked with

* One horse was devoured, and one severely wounded the night we remained in the vicinity of this colony; and we were *all under arms*—my orderly in a hammock, which he had wisely swung between two trees.—R. W.

her giant pine-trees, many of which were more than one hundred and forty feet high, and, by measurement, twelve feet in circumference.

The remaining two miles to the apex of Ida was a surface covered by marbles, minerals, and by the most fragrant heaths, violets, hyacinths, snowdrops, &c., except in the ridges, where the snow lies the whole year; and such is the forcing nature of the soil that small flowers pierce bloomingly and in great quantities through this ungenial mantle.

Many horses, brood-mares, &c., range over the table-land, and keep themselves in excellent condition.

On the very highest pinnacle of Ida is a circular, hollow pile of stones, where an old Dervish lived many years agone, and whose remains were deposited in a neighbouring grave. Nevertheless, he is believed still to exist in the body in strict incognito; and the re-appearance of Dan Baba in "human form divine" is as much expected as the return of Don Sebastian. The naked eye here commands a most extensive and splendid view, embracing in its range the tract above Smyrna, the coast of Europe, Mount Athos, and the Sea of Marmora, Mount Olympus, and, it is said, at sunrise and sunset, the towers of Constantinople. The descent from Ida, in a northern direction, is attended with great difficulty, and some danger to the horses, which, however, diminish it much when left to their own guidance.

After three miles the pine region recommences, and paths used by the woodmen afford facilities for progress. These woodmen are some of Nature's most powerful models, but the iron outline of form and countenance is tempered by a mildness of expression

which engages a cordiality and confidence that are never abused. The stranger will always find a faithful helper and protector, if needed, when he associates to his party these Atlases of the forest. What is more remarkable, every gait, motion, and act partakes of a grace that very rarely characterises the most polished sovereign.

Five miles further for foot-passengers, but eight for horses, are the sources of the river Suchukti, formed by various springs issuing out of small cavities. About a quarter of a mile further, the stream descends precipitately about thirty feet, and below this fall is a cavity whence the water issues in a tepid state. Within the cavity it is so warm that the Turks use the spring as a hot-bath, and in recognition of its mineral and healing virtues, various pieces of rags, amulets, &c., are suspended, as votive offerings, on the branches of the overhanging and neighbouring trees. The water of the main stream is as cold as melting snow, or the water in the marble vaults of Megara. This stream preserves an independent course until it flows into the Mendereh near Bairamitch, and may be regarded as the line of demarcation between the Ida and *Cavateschi* mountain—a mountain which rises immediately from its opposite bank.

As the object of my excursion was to ascertain the topography of Ida, it is now the time to remark that this range of mountains, comprehended under the name of Ida, does not extend beyond Mekavi and Zeteughi on the south and south-east—*i.e.*, within four miles of the Gulf of Adramyti; the Hamihdar on the south-west; the plain in front of Ergillae on the west; the Cavateschi on the north; and the Carpidar on the east. The extent from north to south is twelve miles. The

natural limits are distinctly marked, and neither the Gargarus nor any of the hills beyond the plain of Bairamitch can be denominated part and parcel of Ida.

The Cavateschi mountain is very lofty and painful to ascend, but the view from it upon Ida presents a majesty of scenery—features of awful grandeur—which no pen can delineate. The glowing tints would baffle all the painter's art, and the local spirit of imagination soars high above the reaching powers of poetical description.

The descent is generally less difficult, but there are frequent breaches in the paths which almost realize the perils of the razor-bridge of Mahomet. Happily the horses are not so nervous as their riders, or they would shudder with them into the abyss.

The village of Chirpidar lies in the vale in which Bairamitch is situated, from which town it is distant fifteen miles. Its distance from the Cavateschi mountain is about two miles. Two miles beyond, in a north-east direction, the village of Delda* is passed, and, half-a-mile further, the river Essetchechi flows, whose source is in the Garnesi mountain, in front of the right of Ida, and whose stream falls into the Mendereh at a distance of six miles from Bairamitch. A mile in advance, the river Adachi also directs its course to the Mendereh, near the point of union with the Essetchechi. The source of the Adachi is from the soil in the mountain of Mekli, which lies contiguous to the Garnesi mountain.

The river Karmuchuchi, which flows from Mount

* The names of all these villages are given according to the sound of utterance.—R. W.

No gazetteers and no maps within the Editor's reach give their names; and the extreme difficulty of deciphering Sir Robert Wilson's handwriting must be his apology to the public for insufficient verification.—ED.

Kateme, and also falls into the Mendereh, intersects the road at the distance of another half-mile. Over this river there are two bridges, in sight of each other. All the rivers above noted have rapid currents which, during the winter months, it must be very hazardous, if not impracticable, to pass.

The village of Karachi lies at a quarter of a mile on the road, and at this point the road to Caraboya takes a northern direction through the province of Choug. The first part of this route runs through the Ak Dagh range of mountains and generally along the bank of the Ak Dagh river, which flows from the Makaria mountain, and falls into the Granicus, six miles from Tapakeia. The crests and sides of this range are luxuriantly covered with oaks, &c. The country opens at the end of six miles, and, at the eighth mile, the village of Galakeia is entered; on the right of which, at the distance of about half-a-mile, the Granicus flows between banks lined with trees, and through the most luxuriant meadows. About a mile further on are celebrated mineral baths. After rounding a hill which intercepts the prospect, the village of Tapakeia presents itself: a place of some consequence, as the residence of an Aga, called Hadji Selim Effendi—a man of the law, well-informed in general subjects, very desirous of geographical information, hospitable, and affable, although afflicted with a painful disease.

From Tapakeia to Pasakeu, where the Aga has another residence, is a distance of about twenty-three miles.* The road runs contiguous to the river Granicus,

* Stated in the Diary to be twelve miles, perhaps upon information previous to experiment.—ED.

which springs from the mountain Kasalina, about nine miles distant from Ida. The villages between Tapakeia and Pasakeu are—

	Miles.
Pashakie	1
Karchekpeckelie	2
Karmichai	11½
Darouli	1½
*Yemalt	1½
Pasakeu	4
	Good 22 or 23 miles.

The first ten miles run through a plain, about five miles in width, and which is encircled by the Uraiteh mountain on the east, by the Shiptapisi on the north, and by the Kurfar Kurtepisi on the west. Further to the east, the Uquelurah mountain, whence the Œsepus flows, looms in the horizon, and the Granicus frequently intersects the route.

Pasakeu is beautifully situated on an eminence which forms part of the crest of a cultivated range of hills gradually ascending from the plain. A very strong military post might be established here.

The Granicus flows within a quarter-of-a-mile of the town, and near the banks are several mineral baths, with appropriate establishments.

From Pasakeu to Boacherie is a distance of twenty-two miles. The mountains, called the Pasurnidaki, frequently contract the vale on both sides of the Granicus through the first sixteen miles, and the Orgick mountain then nearly closes to the left bank of the river. Here is a ford, but the route returns to the

* There was a horse and cattle fair about to be held at Yemalt, and from the number and dimensions of the sheds it must be a considerable one.—R. W.

left bank, over a bridge, at the distance of about two miles and near the Akriak mountain. Three miles beyond the heights recede, and on the borders of a vast plain stands the town of Boacherie.

This is the first town on this route from the Dardanelles where Greeks reside, and here all those characteristics of filth, squalid poverty, and other insignia of enslaved minds as well as bodies, abound. The Mussulman peasant or inhabitant stalks lord of the soil, and every gesture indicates the feeling that the ancient spirit which animated to acquire and which nerved the arm that hewed out the path to conquest, still exists unimpaired in pride, energy, and power. Liberal institutions will, after the lapse of time, in most instances elevate degraded humanity, but the Asiatic Greek crawls a voluntary and irredeemable slave, who neither proposes nor hopes for a day of emancipation for himself or his posterity: his condition, therefore, excites no pity, and the enemy to barbarism and tyranny cannot but recognize and acknowledge, amidst the splendid memorials of former greatness and dominion, that existing baseness which unfits and disqualifies for independent government.

The Aga's name is Emeth, a fine young man, of not more than seventeen. Betrothal connects him with the Aga of Bairamitch, and from fortune and character he seems destined to attain all the objects of his ambition, however highly pointed.

From Boacherie to Caraboya is a distance of eighteen miles. This plain is bounded by the Cahultapa mountains on the west, by the Sea of Marmora on the north, by the Karadal on the east, and on the south by the Hamihdar range.

APPENDIX II.

DESPATCHES, &c.

No. 1.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO R. LISTON, ESQ., H.M.'s AMBASSADOR TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

SIR, Tchernigow, August 11th, 1812.

I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that I have arrived here, and shall proceed to Smolensk immediately, where I expect to find the head-quarters of the *united* armies of General Barclay de Tolly and Prince Bagrathion.

Buonaparte's head-quarters are, it is said, near Krasnoi, and Marshal Davoust's in Mohilew, where the enemy have entrenched themselves.

There has been no great action, but in all the rencontres the Russians have preserved the superiority, and have taken many prisoners, several hundred of whom are in this town.

The Emperor of Russia has been to Moscow, where the nobles enrolled 60,000 militia, and gave one man in each ten men throughout that Government to the regular army.

The other governments in the Russian empire have voluntarily granted one man in fifteen, and by every account enthusiasm is exalted to the highest degree in

support of the war: the highest and lowest individuals seem sensible of the duty that they owe their country in this exigency.

From Moscow the Emperor went to S. Petersburg but was to return immediately to his army, so that I hope to find his Majesty at Smolensk, or on his way thither.

I had not formed an erroneous opinion of the state of the Moldavian army when I wrote to your Excellency from Bucharest. I have since seen a great proportion of it, and I never made an inspection of troops in higher order for field service.

Such a corps, when united to the corps of General Tormanssoff, must, if well commanded, assure most important advantages, and render the peace with Turkey an event of memorable benefit to the common cause.

General Tormanssoff is now near Kobrin. The Austrians who were opposed to him had retired, and it is pretended in consequence of some strong expression of dissatisfaction at the war.

General Tormanssoff has judiciously cultivated the good inclinations of the Austrians, has sent back all their prisoners, and on every occasion has evinced a conciliatory disposition.

At Khotin I inspected the works, which have been much enlarged and improved by an extension that embraces several domineering heights. The General requires sixteen battalions for their defence, and then he has authorised me to assure the Emperor that he would hold out for a twelvemonth, as Khotin once before did.

There is no denial of facts, and I am not presump-

tuous enough to oppose my opinion to an officer of such distinguished reputation as the chief engineer of Suwarrow's army in Italy, but I should not have thought Khotin tenable for many weeks except by a Turkish garrison; and their practice, as I saw it recorded in Schumla, Rasgrad, and Rustchuk, baffles all theory and ordinary experience.

The general, however, told me that the line of the Pruth was not a good military line of defence for Russia, an opinion which I shall advance at the proper moment, but I am rather inclined to think that the demolition of all the fortresses between the Dniester and the Pruth at a general peace would be a *sine qua non* condition of any new arrangement. Whilst the views of Austria are so equivocal, it certainly would be inexpedient to uncover the defence of the valley of the Danube.

At Jassy the principal Moldavian nobles represented to me that the clause which obliged their sale of property on one side or other of the Pruth within eighteen months was a grievance of ruinous consequence, as no purchasers could be found in the present state of Europe.

I should hope, at all events, that the Emperor would, on his part, agree to an extension of the period.

The division of the province excited great regret. *Tout ou rien* was the general sentiment.

At Jitomir I found General Sacken with the greater part of a division. The remainder was detached to the frontier of Warsaw. 200 wersts in front of Jitomir another general (I think his name was Esler) was stationed with 20,000 men.

At Kiew a considerable number of men were em-

ployed in works at and about the citadel, which appears a place of strength. Large magazines were also forming there, and equipment preparing for 4000 Cossacks.

At this place the utmost diligence is exerting for the clothing of seventeen new regiments of Cossacks and the equipment of 90,000 men that the governments of Pultowa and Tchernigow, both under the direction of Prince Labanow, have given to the State on the present emergency.

The arrival of an English officer continues to be universally hailed with pleasure, and I experience the most grateful proofs of the estimation in which the character of my country is held.

ROBERT WILSON.

No. 2.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART, &c.

MY LORD, S. Petersburg, August 27th, 1812.

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship with my arrival here, and to transmit through your Lordship a despatch to Lord Viscount Castlereagh, which I presume to think may be of some importance for your Lordship's information. I should have proceeded direct to Abo had I not feared to excite suspicions and jealousies, that would intercept communications which I hereafter hope to have with his Majesty on other subjects.

On my way to S. Petersburg I met Prince Kutusow, who, after an hour's confidential conversation, con-

cluded by saying, "Vous êtes un gallant homme, et Anglois. J'espère que vous vous proposez de dire à l'Empereur les vérités que vous venez de me dire." They are contained in the despatch to which I have referred. But, my Lord, there is another subject to which I alluded in a former letter, and which demands the most serious and the earliest attention, viz., the resignation of M. Romanzow.

The temper of the army, the nobles, and all classes will no longer admit of his retaining the political direction of the empire.

The appointment of Prince Kutusow has removed one serious impending ill, but it must be accompanied by another concession to public feeling.

The enemies are within 300 wersts of Moscow. Whether the system be wise or impolitic that brought them to the neighbourhood of Smolensk, whether the loss of that place be a military error *solely* or *in combination with the plans of the Cabinet*, is not a question that will now admit of discussion.

The Emperor's government, nay, his person, is in danger if further disaster occurs whilst the present Chancellor is in office. I am well aware that I am using strong language; but the strongest *repetition* will not express the apprehensions that I have entertained for the welfare of his Majesty, if unhappily he persevered in opposing *the will*—I must use the term—of his army and country.

It is not the cry of a party or of a faction, but it is the sentiment of the wisest and the most thoughtless, the most moderate and the most violent, that "the Minister who warred with England to preserve peace

with France—who wasted one hundred thousand men unprofitably in Turkey, but for the advantage of France—who, in addition to the English war and the Turkish war (of the termination of which he had not the merit), suffered Russia to be surprised by these very French for whose interests such sacrifices had been made—who commenced this war by surrendering seven governments, and who has brought the enemy to the gates of Moscow—should be displaced, that further ills may not arise from his treason or imbecility. For my own part, I am no personal enemy to the Chancellor: on the contrary, as a private man, I am disposed to be much pleased with him. But I should not do my duty if I did not communicate to your lordship the feelings of this country with regard to him as a Minister.

It is dangerous to mention names, but I have the highest authorities for what I have represented, both as to the past and the future. I shall not, however, scruple to state to your Lordship in writing what General Platow said, because he loudly declared it. Addressing himself to me, he observed, "I require you, as you are dear to me, to tell the Empress-Mother and the Grand-Duchess to remember that my last words on quitting S. Petersburg were, "Romanzow will prove an enemy to his country and a servant to France."

In the state of the public mind I have recommended Prince Kutusow to go through Moscow, as his presence even for a moment may preserve tranquillity and restore confidence. He has promised to do so, especially as I engaged to tell the Emperor that I had advised the circuit of about a hundred wersts from the above motives.

Indeed, I did not think the other road by Torjok and Wiasma sufficiently safe to admit of the Prince's progress by that route.

But I earnestly conjure your Lordship, for the interest of the common cause, the honour and safety of a most amiable Sovereign, to attend to the matter above stated, and endeavour to arrange a change that may be effected without wounding the feelings of the Minister or shocking the dignity of his Majesty.

I by no means would recommend any conduct that may betray apprehension. On the contrary, I am confident that the Emperor would act most judiciously and that the effect would be most successful, if he would, accompanied by your Lordship, proceed immediately to Moscow. The appearance of his Majesty, attended by a British nobleman of your Lordship's character and consideration, would inspire more confidence than the arrival of twenty thousand men for the garrison of the city. It would electrify all ranks, and the energies of the capital would be directed against the common enemy, whilst the sentiment of hope and satisfaction would animate the armies with the best spirit.

It would not be necessary nor expedient that his Majesty should remain at Moscow. Other duties require his presence in this part of the empire, and these proofs of paternal vigilance would be more grateful to the inhabitants of Moscow than a permanent residence under the present circumstances.

I trust your Lordship will oppose all distant diversions of the military forces of Sweden and Russia. An attack upon Norway would be wilder than the Dalmatian expedition which was to commence by a

new war with Turkey; and Buonaparte, so far from being affected by that operation would, I am sure, to encourage its execution pay the expenses of it.

If Holstein could be carried, then indeed a base of grand importance might be established and the armies of Generals Tormanssoff and Tchichagow might be enabled boldly to advance upon the enemy's central positions; but, if this undertaking be superior to present means, I should humbly but earnestly urge some enterprize that would have an immediate effect on Buonaparte's army.

To frustrate Buonaparte's plans for the next six weeks, the Allies must project and execute their own; that time being gained without any important success on the part of the enemy, not only Russia is saved but Europe is infallibly redeemed.

Your Lordship must not, however, conceive that the army is disposed to peace. Under any circumstances, negotiation would be attended with as fatal consequences as the retention of General Barclay and of Count Romanzow.

An universal opinion exists in the army that victory is certain if the Government does not yield to momentary pressure; but, should the Government be disposed to do so, I am positive that the veto will not be protracted or equivocal.

I shall await your Lordship's arrival here, unless you wish me to proceed on the road to Abo.

It is my intention, after I have fulfilled the objects of my mission, to request his Majesty's leave to return to the army, as I have been further invited to do so in the most flattering manner by Prince Kutusow; and I hope your Lordship will sanction that applica-

tion, with an assurance that I shall carry to it a zeal and devotion that has many competitors but no superiors.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,
ROBERT WILSON.

No. 3.

R. LISTON, &c., TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

SIR, Constantinople, November 28th, 1812.

I have now received your despatches of the 2nd of August from Bucharest and the 11th of that month from Tchernigow; a copy of your reports to Lord Castlereagh from Smolensk dated 14th August, which together with copies of your correspondence with Lord Cathcart accompanied a private letter of the 14th September from S. Petersburg; those of the 24th September from Krasnoi Pakra and of the 8th and 11th October from Tarouza, by Mr. Levy; also those of the 19th October from Tarouza by Mr. Fogassiera; and of the 27th by Mr. Fanshaw.

The two first packets arrived early, and were immediately answered by me; none of those that followed to the 11th of October reached me till the arrival of Mr. Levy.

You were acquainted with the situation of this country on your departure: it continued nearly the same. If there was any change it was such an unfavourable one as might be effected by the rapid career of victory of Bonaparte, who appeared to some of the eminent politicians here on the eve of taking permanent

possession of the Russian empire. It was mortifying for me therefore to have nothing certain to report to the Reis Effendi of the success of the plan which seemed most capable of counteracting the dark manœuvres and insidious offers of our enemies. I have given him *hopes*, indeed, but I never have been, and am not now, able to go further; and what is melancholy, it appears to me from what comes officially from S. Petersburg, and even from insinuations thrown out by yourself, that those *hopes* are likely to be disappointed.

Your military news is of a different stamp. The unfortunate and disgraceful retreat of Buonaparte will render our political plans of conciliation of less importance. Your account of the perilous situation of the French army was wanted (for aught I know) to save this empire. Still, the defeat of Murat was essentially necessary; for while Napoleon remained in Moscow Andreossi told them he was ready to march to S. Petersburg, and there cannot be here the confidence we could wish in the Emperor's refusal of all negotiation.

It was high time some change should take place when a certain secret influence had acquired such an ascendency over the Sultan as to induce him to disgrace the superior, and murder the inferior agents of the Peace of Bucharest.

I have the honour to be, with perfect truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT LISTON.

No. 4.

R. LISTON, &c., TO LORD TYRCONNEL.

MY LORD, Constantinople, 25th December, 1812.

I have been favoured with your despatch of the 19th of last month, enclosing a packet from Sir Robert Wilson of the 9th of November, and I have to make my acknowledgments to your Lordships for the regularity of your correspondence. Your reports not only give great satisfaction and comfort to this embassy, and enable me to speak with confidence to the Ottoman Government, but they put it in my power to communicate to His Majesty's Ministers and Commanders at Cadiz and at Palermo, where it is essential that the truth should be known, genuine and *authentic* intelligence concerning the state of the war.

This advantage is felt by me the more sensibly, because during the course of the summer and autumn the exaggerated and false, and, I am sorry to add, *fabricated* reports which have been sent us from Odessa and from Bucharest, have had a cruel effect both upon our minds and upon our credit with this Government. We must endeavour to re-establish our reputation.

It is evident, by what your Lordship is requested to say to me about an *alliance offensive and defensive*, and an interposition in *favour of the Servians*, that the state of political affairs here is not well known at the army. From the moment of the rupture between France and Russia, and the proffered guarantee of the *integrity of the Ottoman dominions* in Europe by the two Powers allied against the Emperor Alexander, the Turks have thought they made a bad peace prematurely and with-

out necessity. They have been ever since in a state of sullen dissatisfaction with themselves, of extreme ill-humour with England for having *advised* the conclusion of the treaty, and, above all, of rancorous enmity towards the Russians. Their conduct towards me has been very unfriendly, but towards M. d'Italinsky it has been so captious, so unfair, so inimical—there has appeared so strong a determination to decline fulfilling the articles of the peace of Bucharest, that at any other time it is probable that a new war must have been the consequence. And I hold it to be very fortunate indeed that the reverses of Buonaparte are likely to make them change their system. In the mean time, and till that change takes place, your Lordship will conjecture that I cannot interfere with any prospect of success.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

Rob. Liston.

No. 5.

R. Liston, &c., to Sir Robert Wilson.

Sir, Constantinople, 25th December, 1812.

I have received by the gentleman who arrived here three days ago, as courier from Marshal Kutusow's head-quarters — Captain Yefimowitch — your letters of the 9th of last month, from Jelnia, and those of the 26th from Kopis. Those you refer to of the 22nd of November, entrusted to Lord Walpole, have not made their appearance; and the want of the description

I take it for granted they contain, of the battle of Krasnoi, is a very great disappointment to us. We are endeavouring, however, to fill up the blank by means of translations from the journals transmitted in Russian by M. Kutusow to the Chevalier d'Italinsky.

The contents of your letters are highly important and interesting, and I send them on both by way of Malta and of Zante, to Lord William Bentinck and Sir Henry Wellesley. It seems essential that since the late unfavourable turn of our affairs in the Peninsula (in consequence of the menacing movements of Soult, Suchet, and Massena) a fillip should be given to the spirits of the Cortes and the Regency, and I consider Lord William Bentinck as the principal hinge upon which all our measures, present and future, in the Mediterranean must naturally turn.

The intercepted letter from Caroline of Naples is of real consequence, and I thank you for the copy of it. But it has been formally and officially communicated to me by the Russian Envoy here, as a proof of the good dispositions and friendly attention of his Court; and it is in that light that I shall be under the necessity of considering the matter.

I was infinitely disappointed when I found that Buonaparte had retired from Moscow and was making his way to the frontiers. I had fondly adopted your first system of endeavouring to put an end to his career at that city and in its neighbourhood; but I am assured that the Marshal has a very good head, and it is possible that he may have judged the business better.

My last despatches were entrusted to Mr. Levy and to M. de Fogassiera, and I hope they may reach you

in safety, though we are not without anxiety on the account of those gentlemen. They embarked together in a boat for Varna, from which place I dare say M. de Fogassiera would endeavour to make the best of his way to you without waiting for Mr. Levy, who was encumbered with a large quantity of baggage. But they met with bad weather the first moment of their navigation in the Baltic, and were under the necessity of returning to Buiukdereh. They sailed again the next morning, and, by our calculation, they had a fair wind of sufficient duration to carry them to Varna, but we have heard nothing of their arrival, and we remain in a state of anxious uncertainty respecting them.

My despatches sent by them contained some accounts of the state of politics at this place, calculated to damp the sanguine expectations you appeared to entertain from the friendship and possible future co-operation of the Turks. Nothing indeed can be more unlikely, if we judge from present appearances, than the junction of any such auxiliaries to our cause. From the moment of the rupture between France and Russia they felt they had *fait une sottise* in hurrying the conclusion of an unfavourable peace. They (at least the Reis Effendi) frankly confessed to me that such a peace could never be satisfactory to the people or the sovereign, and could not consequently be permanent. They sunk into a state of sullen discontent with themselves, of extreme ill-humour with England for having advised the measure, and of rancorous enmity to Russia who had abused her advantages to extort such conditions. These sentiments were all much enforced and aggravated by the communication officially made of the article inserted in the Convention between

Austria and France; by which they, unasked and gratuitously, stipulated the integrity of the Turkish territories. The Internuncio had the art to convince the Porte that the two Powers were in earnest and were their true friends. And as at the arrival of the French Ambassador the idea was that Russia and we were on the point of concluding an *alliance offensive and defensive* with this Government, the two Ministers satisfied themselves with assuring the Porte of the advantage of the *integrity* in question, provided they abstained from all intimate connections with us and observed a neutrality unmixed with any partiality towards England, of which Andreossi harshly accused them. It was impossible to refuse such an offer; and, as I stated in my former letters to you, they proved their neutrality and their *impartiality* by every sort of unfriendly, unjust, and captious conduct towards us and still more towards Russia; and they have carried their inimical measures, their refusal of fair demands, their delay in fulfilling the treaty, or rather their seeming determination not to execute the articles of it, so far that *at any other time* the struggle must have led to a declaration of war on the part of Russia.

This might all have been remedied by one means, and one means only—the success of the overture entrusted to you. Anxious beyond all conception has the Reis Effendi been to have some favourable answer on that point, but I have been able to give him none. I have not even yet had a word from S. Petersburg, and I can see perfectly from all M. de Romanzow's instructions to M. d'Italinsky, from all the official publications of the Court of Russia, and, what it seems strange to add, I can see from the strain of your late

letters, that there is not the smallest prospect or hope of the thing's being done *handsomely*. I have long renounced all expectation of it.

Not, however, that I think there is any idea on the part of the Porte to break the treaty and to renew hostilities; but they seem inclined, by their inimical chicanery, to provoke the Emperor to strike the first blow, and thus to raise a Mussulman spirit of resentment that would make the war popular. Had Buonaparte's success continued, this issue must, I think, infallibly have taken place: and the Turks have never till now—never till the battle of Krasnoi—believed that that success was interrupted. It is to be hoped that their tone, and their plans, and their system will at last be changed.

But you will observe from all this, how impracticable the plan was of sending Piedmontese troops through the Straits. Hitherto not a merchant-vessel with corn has been permitted to pass the Bosphorus, and I am confident that, at the request of the French Ambassador, a *single soldier* would have been taken forcibly from on board a trader and stopped in his journey.

The reverses of Buonaparte may, however, enable us *in time to do everything*.

I have the honour to be, with perfect truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ROB. LISTON.

No. 6.

R. LISTON, &c., TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

SIR, Constantinople, 5th January, 1813.

The Chevalier d'Italinski offers me an opportunity of writing to you by the return of M. Yefimowitch, which I will not allow to pass unimproved, although I have no important information to communicate.

I have not received any letter from you of a later date than that of the 26th of November, from Kopis, nor has the Russian mission anything later from the armies than what was brought by M. Yefimowitch; so that you may conceive the state of anxious expectation in which we remain with regard to the fate of Buonaparte and the remainder of his army.

It would have made me happy to see the sanguinary *Tragedy of Napoleon* close at Moscow, as you had given us reason to hope it might. But we will forgive the irregular change of scene, and the agitation which unexpected incidents in the piece have occasioned to us. We will not find fault if the curtain drop at Minsk or at Wilna, at Warsaw or at Berlin, provided *poetical justice* be ultimately done to the *persons* of the *drama*.

My last letter mentioned that the Turkish ministry had at last begun to give credit to the news of a reverse in Buonaparte's fortune. Their belief on this article appears to be more and more confirmed, and as the unfriendly conduct they have lately held towards England was, I am confident, not owing to natural disinclination but to an overpowering dread of Buonaparte, so I think I can perceive, in proportion as that dread is removed, a disposition to retrace their steps.

There is also a shade of difference in their tone with regard to Russia; but no symptoms, as yet, of any inclination handsomely to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Bucharest and to do justice to the Russian navigation.

I have received two letters from Lord Cathcart—one dated the 11th, the other the 27th of November—communicating to me certain particulars respecting the operations of the armies (which, though of an old date, were still interesting); but his Lordship makes no mention of having received any letters from me, refers to no prior letters written to me by himself, and takes no notice of the state of political affairs, so that there is a lamentable blank in the correspondence, which must, I suppose, be made up by despatches that are on the road. They may perhaps have been committed to the charge of Lord Walpole, and I may receive them along with your letter of the 22nd of November, which has not yet made its appearance.

I have taken the liberty of troubling Capt. Yefimowitch with a letter to Lord Cathcart, which he is to carry to S. Petersburg, if he happens to be sent there, or otherwise to deliver to you, that you may have the goodness to forward it by the first safe opportunity.

You will find enclosed the packet of newspapers and letters that was by mistake omitted to be sent with my last despatch of the 25th of December.

I have the honour to be, with perfect truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROB. LISTON.

No. 7.

R. LISTON, &c., TO LORD TYRCONNEL.

MY LORD, Constantinople, 7th January, 1813.

Since my last letter, which was dated the 25th of December, I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's very interesting despatch of the 1st of December, from Zembin, giving an account of the signal advantage gained over Buonaparte on the last days of November. And I have to thank you, as I do most cordially, for your attention in keeping me so regularly informed of the important events of the campaign.

I will pay proper regard to the caution your Lordship's delicacy has prompted you to suggest with respect to *what might have been done* at Borisow beyond what was effected. But I beg leave to observe that upon reading the abstract of the report of that business communicated to me by the Chevalier d'Italinsky, it was impossible (even without any reference to your Lordship's letter) not to remark certain omissions and certain *reticences* which created suspicion and gave one an earnest desire to obtain further explanations, if those who could give them had been within reach.

This place affords nothing that I can communicate to your Lordship in return. The news from the different parts of Europe, except perhaps from Spain, arrives at Constantinople so late that we have not the advantage of being able to transmit it to any quarter except to the East. And at this moment our accounts even from Spain are very much in arrear.

I mentioned to your Lordship in my last the un-

friendly conduct of the Turkish Government towards the English, but especially towards the Russian mission.. The fact is that from the beginning of the war between France and Russia they believed Buonaparte to be victorious in every action that was fought, and were persuaded that he was on the eve of becoming master of the Russian empire. They dreaded the consequences for themselves, and were anxious to avoid incurring his vengeance by any appearance of returning good correspondence with Russia or of partiality to England, of which the French Ambassador bitterly accused them. It was this sentiment, as well as their dissatisfaction with the terms of the late peace, that exposed M. d'Italinsky and myself to the unpleasant contradiction and injustice of which we have had reason to complain for some months past. But I hinted an expectation that the success of the Emperor's arms might effect a change. And in effect, since the battle of Krasnoi, the Turks begin to be persuaded that Napoleon is not invincible, and there is already perceivable in their tone towards M. d'Italinsky a shade of difference, which makes me hope that if your armies pursue the same prosperous career a thorough alteration may take place, and all may yet be well.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ROB. LISTON.

No. 8.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART.

MY LORD, Lyk, 20th January, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the enemy have evacuated Elbing, Mülhausen, and Marienwerda. At Mülhausen General Tchernigow had a sharp affair, and Beauharnois narrowly escaped being made a prisoner in his bed.

Berthier was carried from Elbing on a litter, being extremely ill.

Letters from Buonaparte to him and General Rapp, Governor of Dantzic, have been intercepted. In one of the letters he desires him to put twelve months' provisions in the magazines, but promises to relieve Dantzic, in case of a blockade or siege, with 300,000 men in the spring. Six months' supply was first ordered; but the "6" was converted into "12" by a perceptible alteration.

The enemy's force now concentrated about Dantzic certainly amounts to 50,000 men; but the want of cavalry obliges it to seek refuge in the fortified parts.

Murat is himself gone to Custrin, as it is said principally to obtain horses from the depôt in that country.

In Königsberg much heavy artillery has been taken out of the Pregel, and the enemy in the late affairs have abandoned several guns; but I do not detail the particulars, as I presume General Dornberg is in more direct communication from that quarter with your Lordship.

The Prussians continue to receive his Imperial Majesty and the Russian troops with the most cordial

joy; and high and low execrate the French dominion, which has been exercised with great vexations, during this war particularly.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT WILSON.

I have sent the Hon. Captain Dawson by Admiral Tchichagow's army and Königsberg to General Dornberg, as I wished for communication with this officer and intelligence on that line. Your Lordship shall have his report when he returns.

I have this moment received intelligence that the Austrians have advanced to within two miles of Willenberg. This attitude is probably accompanied by some declaration of the Court of Vienna, of which your Lordship will be acquainted. In a military point of view it assumes a formidable character. Willenberg was the point of assembly for the French army when Buonaparte advanced against General Beningsen previous to the battle of Eylau, and a post of great importance.

The Austrians in that position check our operations or oblige us to force our passage. Delay has greatly improved the enemy's state and weakened our means.

If secret policy does not regulate the general movements, our future march must be skilfully planned and very energetically conducted, not only to obtain the principal object but to avoid the avowal and consequences of inferior strength.

No. 9.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART.

MY LORD, Lyk, 20th January, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you with the return of Captain Fanshaw, after forty days' quarantine, and I also transmit a letter from Count Italinsky to myself, with another* from Count Ludolf. If I could have erased the personal compliments without injury to the whole content I should have done so, but I hope your Lordship will believe that public motives only induced their presentation to your Lordship's notice.

Captain Fanshaw states that the day preceding his departure further despatches had been received from me relative to the affair at Wiazma, and that he heard at Mohilew that the Krasnoi despatches had also reached Mr. Liston.

He had the regret not to arrive eight days earlier to save the lives of the Princes Morusis; but his presence had a very important beneficial influence, and Mr. Levy's previous mission had also been of eminent service to the general interests, although not so salutary to the unfortunate individuals who became victims to the French Ambassador's intrigues.

The new Grand Vizir, who honoured me by many expressions of his regard as an ancient acquaintance in Egypt, told Captain Fanshaw on his return that he rejoiced in the Russian victories, and added, in a Turkish phrase of more signification than the English translation permits—"New political friendships are always most fruitful of friendly relations."

* Nos. 24 and 26 in Appendix to 'Narrative of the Russian Campaign.' —ED.

The Capitan Pacha also received Mr. Levy and Captain Fanshaw with the most marked attention, and has consigned by the former, as I am told, various presents and an amicable letter, which I mention as being certainly connected with a political sentiment.

The couriers from the French Government arrive in rapid succession at Constantinople, and Andreossi publishes the most fallacious accounts, which now, however, no longer injure.

The Grand Vizir was obliged to leave all his guns in the Balkan Mountains.

It is the continued intention of the Turkish Government to form an army on solid military principles, and I must again take the liberty to direct your Lordship's attention to that measure as one which must have a great influence on the permanent political relations between Turkey and Russia.

Turkey can and will have a very improved force. I know the difficulty of encountering and subduing prejudices, but I also am capable of declaring that the Government has many powerful supporters of that measure. The success of Russia will augment the number.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT WILSON.

No. 10.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART.

MY LORD, Mœritz,* on the Niemen.

I have the honour to acquaint you that Königsberg was taken possession of by the advanced guard of

* Or Meretch.—ED.

Count Wittgenstein on the fifth of this month. The enemy retired in the direction of Elbing by the route of Braunsberg. General Macdonald had joined the troops retiring from Königsberg, but lost, in an affair of rear-guard, three guns and as many hundred men.

The Imperial head-quarters were transferred here this day, and will remain two or three days for the purpose of assembling the army.

About four thousand of the enemy passed through his town for the Duchy of Warsaw, according to the report of the inhabitants, but in wretched condition.

There is no advice from the Duchy of Warsaw of importance, except that Zembin has a strong garrison and holds out against the Russian offers.

I had yesterday an opportunity of seeing the official returns of the losses of the Russian army under the immediate command of General Barclay de Tolly and Prince Kutusow, since the opening of the campaign to the combat of Malo-Jaroslavets inclusive. By this return there is a total of twenty-four thousand odd hundred killed, fifty-five thousand wounded and missing. Officers and non-commissioned officers are not included in this number; but there are rather more than two thousand of the former and five thousand of the latter killed and wounded. If your Lordship will add the number that have since been killed and wounded at Wiazma, Dorogobouche, and at Krasnoi, as well as those who have been disabled from the severity of the service to this period, the twenty thousand which the army of Admiral Tchichagow has lost since he assumed the command, those which have been put hors de combat under the orders of Count Wittgenstein and General Essen, &c., and

the sick of all the armies, the aggregate will be very little short of two hundred thousand men.

The return of wounded men from the hospitals will not be in proportion to the European armies, and the marauders, who are not included in the estimate, will rather make an excess than justify a diminution in the calculation.

The total of the effective strength of all the armies now passing the Niemen amounts to one hundred and twenty thousand men, of which Admiral Tchichagow's army supplies but fourteen thousand.

The Cossacks are greatly reduced, as General Platow has under his command only three thousand as the remains of twenty regiments. On the accuracy of these statements your Lordship may rely. I may add, as a matter of curiosity, that the loss of the Russians in the battle of Borodino amounted to eight thousand killed, twenty-six thousand wounded and missing; in the affairs of Smolensk to twelve thousand killed, wounded, and missing: odd hundreds, specified in the returns, not noticed in this summary.

The Emperor has assured me that by the spring he will have two hundred thousand additional men to complete his armies. Your Lordship will know more of these resources than myself.

If comparative numbers were to determine the probability of further success, Russia would not have perhaps the balance in her favour; but the moral energy she has acquired gives her such additional strength, and the disorganized state of the enemy so enfeebles his power of action, that, although he has had three weeks' time granted to rally his forces and establish a system of defence, I still offer it as my

opinion (with all due deference) that he is unequal to resistance beyond his têtes-du-pont on the Vistula; and that, if he feels a serious jealousy of Prussia, he is too weak on his line of communication to maintain himself on that river.

The Emperor is about to introduce some changes in his army. The dragoons, or at least the greater part, are to become chasseurs à cheval; and I hope His Majesty will make some arrangements for a more scientific instruction and economical application of his chasseurs à pied.

I have already noticed to your Lordship that the front-rank men of the cavalry (excepting the cuirassiers) carry pikes, and they have been adopted with advantage.

I should think the enemy would generally introduce this arm, and it might be worth while to introduce it in England.

The country through which we are now passing has suffered by the war, but still affords some aid; and His Majesty's wise and humane policy in consigning all past errors and weaknesses to oblivion has assured the zealous service of the inhabitants.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBERT WILSON.

No. 11.

MRS. LISTON TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

DEAR SIR ROBERT, Pera, 12th February, 1813.

You will hear from other parts of the family the melancholy fate of poor Levy and of your three fine

fellows; also the loss (though of less value) of the Italian officer Fogassiera. I can only say that it is a very long time since any incident has so much affected me: their miserable fate is ever before me.

It was peculiarly unfortunate that Mr. Liston was ill at Belgrade of a severe fever or cold at the time Levy took leave of him, otherwise I am confident he would not have permitted their departure in such bad weather. He had, indeed, mentioned strongly to Levy the formidable idea Sir Sidney Smith had given him of the navigation of the Black Sea in winter. Had the poor man been alone, or attended only by your brave soldiers and without baggage, he would have probably taken the advice of going by land or in a small row-boat to Varna; but he had collected so many people and so much baggage that he remonstrated against land-carriage, naturally enough, not only on account of the expense but the difficulty, at this season, of procuring carriages. The coffee and tobacco sent from the Capitan Pasha was of itself enough to fill a boat. I added to his load only the tea which the canister of your canteen contained —Pisani some bottles of fine wine; but I understand that Levy had made many purchases for his friends in Russia, and his extreme good nature led him to relieve Mr. Fanshaw of Fogassiera and his servant. There was the addition of a *priest* and a *Tartar*—too much for a small Turkish bark, I fear.

My reply to your kind letter was given to Mr. Levy, as he wished to be the bearer. I saw him put it up in a private letter-case, along with a very flattering one from the Capitan Pacha to you.

I have forgotten the particulars of my letter, except

my regrets for the departure of the Bezenas, and saying how much they were pleased with you. I likewise recollect observing, and I may now repeat it with double force, that, if you had the sole direction of certain armies, Buonaparte would certainly not return to Paris. It was remarked here how very wretchedly anxious the French Ambassador (Andreossi) was during Buonaparte's retreat, particularly after his quitting Beresino, and when there was every appearance of his falling into the hands of the Russians (and why did he not?); but, from the moment he heard of his master's safe arrival at Paris, the clouds dispersed, and he has now resumed his calm.

What may be the result of the threatened campaign in spring Heaven knows; the principal point will be to keep Alexander firm.

As to your friends the Turks, no aid can be hoped for from them. No eloquence less than that of Mahomet could influence them from their neutrality; on the contrary, as they hate the Russians and fear the French, I do in my conscience believe they will be glad to see them destroy each other. Besides, they have but just ceased their rejoicings on finding that the Bey of Egypt has, after a two years' struggle, conquered the Wachabees and recovered the keys of the cities of Mecca and of Medina. The Sultan himself visited the Saint who brought them; and further their political ideas go not.

We have had a severe winter—continued frost and snow; but we submit with a good grace, as it must destroy the plague, whose dreadful ravages after your departure kept us prisoners for three months, not even a servant going out of the gates, the one who brought

our provisions living without it. I often said, when the dull round of our desolate garden was all our exercise, how glad I was that you were gone, for you would undoubtedly either have hanged yourself or have brought the plague amongst us.

I need say nothing from this family, as some of them speak for themselves.

Believe me,
With perfect regard and attachment, yours,
HENRIETTA LISTON.

P.S. — Pray tell me whether Madame de Stael really came to S. Petersburg, and whether she means to pursue her way here.

No. 12.

[REPORT.]

CAPTAIN DAWSON TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

SIR, Bromberg, 12th February, 1813.

I have the honour to report to you that in pursuance of your instructions I proceeded to Königsberg, and hastened to inform myself on all subjects connected with the object you had in view in sending me.

That town has but little suffered from the presence of the fugitive enemy, and as soon as the season permits and Pillau is reduced, the commerce with Great Britain will be re-established nearly on its former footing.

In consequence of Baron Stein's declaration that the ports will be open to England, Spain, &c., all goods, with the exception of oats and rye, which are wanted

for the use of the army, may be exported on the same conditions as previous to the Treaty of Tilsit.

There is nothing decided with regard to the duties on imports, but they are expected to be nearly the same as in Russia, but with less restrictions.

The shipping in Königsberg and Pillau is considerable; there are at present about one hundred and fifty ships of one hundred lasts.

There are from four thousand to five thousand lasts of wheat in the storehouses, and already considerable purchases of corn have been made for the English market.

Owing to the uncertain communication with S. Petersburg and Hamburg, the exchange with England has been unfavourable, but the contrary will in all probability be the case as soon as Berlin is occupied by the Russians.

The exports are hemp, linseed, flax yarn, tallow, ashes, and corn. The imports are colonial produce, hardware, &c., &c.

From the effects of the Continental system, colonial produce had of course become exceeding scarce and dear. This, combined with the hatred which the enemy by their conduct had excited towards them, caused great and universal satisfaction on their being compelled to evacuate the town. Indeed, wherever I have been I have found the same sentiments to exist; and the overwhelming disasters which have happened to them have but been looked upon as a just punishment for the sufferings that they have everywhere caused.*

The conduct of General Yorck has gained the ap-

* See narrative of French Invasion of Russia, page 359.—ED.

probation of all. His corps is about eighteen thousand strong, including sixteen squadrons of cavalry. The most active measures have been adopted for augmenting it; and it is supposed that in a very short period it will amount to thirty thousand.

The merchants of Königsberg have come forward with a loan of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to Government, and all classes seem to wish to cooperate at once to put an end to the influence that Buonaparte has unfortunately so long possessed in this country.

I understand that between thirty and forty thousand of Buonaparte's army recrossed the Niemen, and about six or seven thousand of Macdonald's. The remains of these, together with whatever reinforcements may be arrived, are in Pillau, Dantzic, Thorn, Modlin, Posen, Glogau, Frankfort, Berlin, Stettin, and Custrin.

In Dantzic there are about thirteen thousand effectives;* from the known character of General Rapp, who commands, together with the importance of the place, it will doubtlessly hold out to the last extremity.

I fancy there are about fifteen thousand of General Count Wittgenstein's army blockading it.

In Pillau there are about seventeen hundred men, composed of French, Prussians, and Poles; but from the measures that were taking, I should imagine that the news of its reduction may be daily looked for.

In Thorn there are about three thousand effectives,† all Bavarians. On the 8th inst. Admiral Tchichagow invested and summoned that place. The commandant replied that, in the expectation of being relieved, it

* 4000 sick. They have some cavalry.

† 1000 sick: no cavalry.

was his duty and intention to maintain himself as long as his means permitted him. It was not deemed fit to proceed further than blockading the place (for which purpose five thousand men were left), in order to await the commands of his Imperial Majesty thereon.

There is no battering-train attached to this army, and I understand the enemy have between thirty and forty pieces, mostly of large calibre. The place, though not one of much importance, has been considerably strengthened and improved of late years by the French.

On the morning of the 9th a detachment from the garrison made a sortie on the side of the river, where was posted the corps of General Woinow, in order to ascertain the force of the Russians on that point; they were, after a slight affair, repulsed, leaving some killed and wounded behind them.

The head-quarters of this army arrived here yesterday. The advanced guard, under Count Woronzow, is in the neighbourhood of Gnesen.

By all accounts the enemy is very feeble. In the neighbourhood of Glogau is the chief part of his army. There are the Poles—three thousand. At Stettin, Custrin and Frankfort there are garrisons, and in the neighbourhood of Berlin there are twenty-one thousand, under General Grimm, lately arrived.

They have, I hear, mostly retired from Posen. Soult is said to be on his road to supersede the Viceroy in the command.

Of the battering-train that the enemy had brought for the siege of Riga, none but some light pieces have reached Dantzic; between thirty and forty pieces were thrown into the Pregel; fourteen were taken between

Königsberg and Elbing, and in different places guns have been found buried, which nearly accounts for the original number.

General Yorck's army was to cross the Vistula at Dirschau. I hear it is in the finest order in every respect; the five regiments that I saw belonging to it certainly answered to that character. The Prussians have about four thousand men at Graudenz, that are perfectly fresh troops, at Colberg ten thousand, and in Pomerania General Bulow's corps ten thousand strong.

Count Wittgenstein's army is about twenty-five thousand strong; it extends on this side to Marienwerda, and is advanced on the roads to Stettin and Custrin. It has lost thirty thousand men since the commencement of the campaign; its battalions are necessarily weak, but its artillery and cavalry are still in good order. The corps of the Marquis Pallucci is included in the statement of its strength. At Dantzic, Count Platow has seven thousand effectives.

This army is weak, but very little exceeding twelve thousand men; however, what there is is in good order. The artillery and cavalry horses are in wonderful condition considering circumstances.

In almost every town hospitals have been left by the enemy. At Königsberg they left a very considerable one, with some military stores.

I understand that there is no danger of a scarcity of provisions to be apprehended in consequence of the occupation of this country by an army, which is satisfactory to know.

At Berlin it is reported that the French are there held in such detestation that they are publicly insulted in the streets.

I joined this army at Strasburg on the 3rd, and I cannot say how much I am indebted to Admiral Tchichagow for the politeness and attention which I have received from him.

In consequence of your letter informing me of your intention to go to Warsaw, I have delayed forwarding this report until the probable time of your return.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

GEORGE DAWSON, Capt.

No. 13.

(*Confidential.*)

[TRANSLATION.]

FRIENDLY COMMUNICATION TO SIR ROBERT WILSON. BY GENERAL CHARNHOTZH.

Kalish, 4th March, 1813.

Prussia possesses in Silesia four fortresses, viz., Glatz, Wiess, Cazel, and Silberberg. Near Glatz is an entrenched camp. In Pomerania there is the fortress of Colberg, with an entrenched camp. The fort and the camp have a certain communication with the sea; both must be regularly attacked. In Prussia are the forts of Graudenz and Pillau. Graudenz has a tête-du-pont on the left bank of the Vistula. The fort of Pillau has the little fort of Nehrung, which commands the entrance into the Frische Haff.

All the fortresses are supplied with six months' provisions and ammunition.

The French have three fortresses on the Oder. First, Stettin, with five thousand five hundred; Glo-

gau, three thousand four hundred; Custrin, two thousand men.

Upon the Spree and the Havel is the fortress of Spandau, with two thousand men (French). The three first places have not a sufficient number of cannon. How many men the enemy have lately thrown into Spandau is not known.

The Prussian troops that are under arms amount to sixty-one thousand six hundred and thirty-one men; troops that are forming amount to twenty-eight thousand three hundred and thirty; the troops of garrison to twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and seventy-two —one hundred and nineteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-three men. To this number must be added the detachment of volunteer chasseurs attached to each regiment, also eight battalions of fusiliers now forming in Prussia, and one regiment of cavalry of one thousand men.

The militia are not yet organised; only in Prussia has the organization commenced.

In Silesia it is only on the 11th of this month that this order will be executed. The militia of Russia consists of twenty thousand; in Silesia, forty thousand; —sixty thousand. Nevertheless, in the beginning, only thirty thousand will be organized, since it is not thought safe to organize the militia of Polish origin.

There are sabres and muskets for the Silesian militia, but for those of Prussia, Pomerania, and the Marche of Brandenburg, forty thousand at least are wanted; but if thirty-five thousand muskets and five thousand sabres, with their belts, and five thousand pairs of pistols were given, then there would be a sufficiency for the outset.

P.S. But if we are not supported by foreign Powers with money, after two months there is every reason to fear that the army will be disorganised. This is my full conviction.

(Signed) CHARNHOTZH.

Accompanied by a detailed return of the Prussian forces, which shall be sent with the first courier, if it is not translated in time for this opportunity.

No. 14.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART.

MY LORD, Fraustadt, 28th March, 1813.

Although I have not the honour of possessing your Lordship's instructions to communicate my observations during the tour which I am now proposing to make, nevertheless I conceive it to be my duty to be prepared with such information whenever your Lordship requires it, and I therefore arrange the memoranda in the form of a diary report.

I arrived here yesterday. On my route I passed no troops, except in the town of Lissa, where there was a battalion of General Milaradowitch's chasseurs and a Russian hospital. The Russians were recovering very generally, but the inhabitants of the road assured me that the contagious fever was still very prevalent and fatal in the country.

General Milaradowitch has his head-quarters at this town. Two regiments of new-made grenadiers form the garrison. These two regiments, which formed the brigade that assaulted Wiazma, do not muster five

hundred men; but these remains are in the very highest order.

General Milaradowitch has under his command altogether nine regiments of infantry, three regiments of chasseurs, and eight regiments of cavalry. Three of the infantry regiments are strong, having belonged to General Sacken's corps, but the total of infantry does not exceed six thousand men, and of cavalry two thousand.

General Milaradowitch intending to march on Bunzlau in two or three days (the Russians charging themselves with the blockade of Glogau), I propose to employ the time occupied in that march in visiting the fortresses on the Oder, and perhaps extending my course to Berlin, that I may see the character of the preparations in that city and the siege of Spandau, which I hear is to be undertaken immediately.

Frankfort-on-the-Oder, March 29th.

On the morning of the 28th I crossed the Oder at Göllwitz on a flying bridge, the stationary bridge having been formed at Mitlitz. There is another bridge at Crossen. From thence I proceeded to reconnoitre Glogau, which I had the opportunity of doing along its whole front within cannon-shot. The works appeared in very good order, and from the state of the troops at the different guards, and a column of infantry which came out of the fortress about a werst during the time I was there, I should conceive the garrison to be well clothed, appointed, and regulated. Some deserters told me afterwards that the daily supply of provisions for each soldier was a pound of bread and a quarter of a pound of meat, and some wine, and I

could see several flocks of sheep grazing in the low land about the works. The garrison, including the sick, exceeds five thousand men. One thousand are stated to be French, the residue confederates, and about three hundred Spaniards. The governor's name is Le Blanc. The town may be destroyed from an elevated ridge, but the works are so well flanked that the siege would be costly. There did seem, however, to be a deficiency of cannon at the batteries, and I was subsequently told that there were not above one hundred in the fortress. I have the honour to transmit your Lordship a sketch of the place, as executed by my aide-de-camp.

I found General S. Priest at Quaritz * with the reserve of the blockading corps. He was to be relieved the next day by a Prussian general, with three thousand newly-raised troops and a couple of squadrons of cavalry, when he would march and join General Milaradowitch at Bunzlau.

From the character of the French general who commands at Glogau, and the strong sallies he has hitherto made, I should presume the Prussian corps of blockade would be much harassed. This morning I arrived at Frankfort, and found General Count Woronzow preparing to receive the King of Prussia on his route from Berlin to Kalish. This afforded me an opportunity of seeing Count Woronzow's troops, who were under arms. They were not so well clothed as General Milaradowitch's, but in perfect order. Count Woronzow has under his command ten battalions now amounting to near two thousand men, and about one thousand

* Printed by error *Seranitz* in the body of the work.—ED.

horse. As the Count stops all soldiers who pass the Oder in the intention to join General Wittgenstein, but who do not belong to the regiments of his army, he hopes in a fortnight to collect a considerable addition to his force. The bridge of Frankfort had been completely destroyed by the enemy; it is now, however, re-establishing, and in a month will be passable.

The King of Prussia arrived about mid-day, and walked out of the town. His Majesty was most enthusiastically cheered by the people. I had the honour of paying my respects, and of being most graciously received.

Berlin, April 1st.

Yesterday morning I left Frankfort, and proceeded to reconnoitre Custrin, which is blockaded on this side by two regiments of Cossacks, and on the other by a similar force.

I had occasion to observe the place within musket-shot from a dyke which runs along the front of the tête-du-pont, and from whence the most effectual bombardment could be directed against the town. On this side the enemy did not show great jealousy, although latterly the outposts fired; but when we passed to the left of the town and crossed the road that leads upon the tête-du-pont, he fired cannon, and showed great uneasiness at my reconnoissance. There is a very extensive magazine for corn on the river side, and about a werst from the works, which the enemy occupies with a post of one hundred men and one gun. The inhabitants of the adjoining villages say it is still full of grain, and the apprehension of attack upon it may partly cause this fear of any inspection on that side,

but it might certainly at any time be carried and burned.

Custrin is easily blockaded by cavalry, but a few infantry would keep the enemy entirely within their works.

The garrison is chiefly composed of Westphalians extremely desirous of quitting the French service, as several deserters from thence assured me, and it is pretended that the General, Furrier D'Alba, on that account is unable to make any sallies. His total force exceeds three thousand men.

From Custrin I came to Berlin, and this morning I had the opportunity of seeing a very fine regiment of hussars and several battalions of General Bülow's corps proceeding towards Spandau and Brandenberg. These troops are in very efficient order.

Until I reached this city, I had seen very little martial preparation, and passed but very few troops or recruits, but here all wears a very martial aspect; and all persons concur in the declaration of a most enthusiastic ardour in the people to support the cause in which they are so eagerly engaged.

In my journey I was sorry to find, from authorities of undisputed value, that General Rapp had successfully repulsed the Russians in an attack made upon the faubourgs, and occasioned them a severe loss; and that on the 25th and 26th he had made a sally, driven the Russians, and now extended his post several German miles from the fortress. From another authority your Lordship may be assured that General Rapp has not less than twenty-two thousand men, including the sick, in garrison.

I regret to add that General Dornberg has been

obliged to repass the Elbe with the four regiments of Cossacks, the battalion of Russians, and some volunteers which he had under his command. The French, it is said, shot many persons whom they found in march to join them.

2nd.—General Dornberg, united with General Tchernigow, has repassed the Elbe, and it is said that General Tettenborn has had some further advantage against General Morand.

The guns for the siege or bombardment of Spandau arrived here from Graudenz on the 5th, and on the 6th the trenches will be opened. The garrison amounts to two thousand four hundred men, but they are sickly, and the fortress has only casemates for six hundred. The town is declared neutral. General Barthélémy, the governor, is so ill, that he has offered to release the Russian general officers, prisoners of state since last November, on the condition of his being allowed a passport to France. The answer has been given, "He may come to Berlin, and re-establish his health there."

I find, from accurate inquiry, that Count Wittgenstein entered Berlin with about seven thousand soldiers, exclusive of one thousand four hundred servants, &c., belonging to that army. His total force, excluding Cossacks, is estimated at fifteen thousand men. He has still many sick, and General Yorck's corps is also very unhealthy.

The enrolment of recruits proceeds here with great activity, and I am assured that Berlin alone has sent fifteen thousand young men to the army.

When I commenced this letter I did not intend to transmit it until your Lordship's orders, but as a most

favourable opportunity has presented itself, I think that your Lordship may be glad to receive memoranda from this quarter, especially as General Dornberg is executively employed.

I propose to leave Berlin on the 5th, and I shall run along the advance line with the intention of ultimately falling upon General Milaradowitch, who I presume will be advancing from Bunzlau, perhaps in the direction of Spremberg, if the enemy be collecting all their forces at Magdeburg.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
(Signed) ROBERT WILSON.

I have met here Mr. Lutze, who tells me that there are seven thousand men in Stettin, including sick. They are chiefly Germans.

ADDITIONAL PRIVATE MEMORANDA OF A SECOND REPORT.

April 7th, 1813.

In consequence of my advice, Woronzow has taken the Custrin magazine, without any loss, and found in it a great quantity of grain.

General Bortel advanced too near Magdeburg, and was repulsed with some loss.

Dornberg succeeded in taking Morand's whole corps, but has been obliged to withdraw on this side of the Elbe in consequence of a large column moving against him from Magdeburg.

The French have sacked Bremerlehe for five hours, and killed several hundred Boors.

Yorck is said to have obtained an advantage on this side of Magdeburg, at Mockern, but the account is confused.

It appears certain that Wittgenstein has passed the Elbe at Dessau.

The bombardment of Stettin will begin to-morrow.

No. 15.

Sir Robert Wilson to the Earl of Cathcart.

My Lord, Dessau, 10th April, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I reached Zerbst yesterday evening, where I had the honour of seeing General Wittgenstein and General Yorck. General Wittgenstein informed me, as I have already noticed to your Lordship, that the enemy's force in the environs of Magdeburg, including eighteen thousand men under Marshal Davoust still at Stendal, amounted to fifty thousand men; and General Yorck said he had advice of Marshal Victor having reached Stutgard with about fifteen thousand additional troops who had been detached at various posts, and now collected as General Blucher advanced after them. General Wittgenstein estimated his whole force, when united with General Blucher, and exclusive of General Bulow's nine thousand men left to observe Magdeburg, on the right bank of the Elbe at sixty thousand men, of which twenty thousand were cavalry; whilst the enemy had not at present above three thousand cavalry with the Magdeburg army. General Wittgenstein told me he intended to besiege Wittemberg, which has a garrison of four thousand men with twenty

guns, and advance to the Elster; beyond which he should not proceed with his main body until the Russian army approached the Elbe to sustain his further operations. He did not know the present station of the new French army nor its force, but he believed its head-quarters were removed to Wurzburg, and he had reason to be assured of one hundred thousand French having passed the Rhine since the commencement of January.

The troops who took General Morand are ordered to watch and distress Marshal Davoust at Stendal, and General Tettenborn is also directed to harass him by movements on the left bank of the Elbe.

11*th*.—The head-quarters of Count Wittgenstein were removed here yesterday, and the Elbe was passed by the allied force under his command upon a bridge constructed partly with piles and partly upon boats. Works were forming upon both banks, and intersecting channels of the river aid greatly the defence of the têtes-du-pont, but a circling wood also favours approach sufficiently for great inconvenience to the bridge itself. There are two other bridges, one at Elster and the other at Muhlberg, making, not made; but Wittemberg intervenes very injuriously to the communication.

During the march, &c., I had opportunity of seeing a great portion of the Allied force. The Russian infantry was in very good order, and particularly the militia. The Russians appeared an efficient body, but did not possess that military air which might be expected. I think their cavalry should not be too much forced in the first instance, as the horses are not in the best condition.

During the day General Yorck assured me that the enemy had not a less force, at the lowest calculation, than one hundred and fifty thousand men between Erfürth and the Rhine, and he conceived that there were little hopes of successfully opposing the enemy's progress unless Austria joined or great efforts were made by Sweden and the inhabitants of Germany. He imagined that Count Wittgenstein made the present movement to favour insurrections; but he was fearful that the enemy might make some distressing movements from Magdeburg on the right bank of the Elbe. He also estimated the united armies of Generals Blucher and Wittgenstein at nearly sixty thousand men exclusive of Bulow's corps.

Your Lordship will certainly see what a great proportion of this force the fifty thousand men in the *position of Magdeburg* will occupy, and how much detriment the arrival of twenty thousand more men at that point must occasion. I state fifty thousand men to be the present force; but General Yorck believes more troops are on march* in that direction from Erfürth, and last night advice was brought of the enemy having moved out to Halberstadt to cover the march of General Durutte's division and other troops from Dresden and posts in Saxony. General Yorck himself went this morning to Acken on the Elbe, four miles from Magdeburg.

The accounts from the lower Elbe state that Marshal Davoust's column had occupied Luneburg; but *General Wittgenstein* entertains no fears for Hamburgh.

General Kleist, who is charged with the siege of

* Victor's corps is stated, &c. &c.—R. W.

Wittemberg informs me that his operations cannot commence for some days, and that the place is difficult to take. His advices lead him to suppose that the enemy is in movement from Franconia by Hof against Dresden. It is impossible for me to judge of the different reports in circulation concerning the enemy's intention so as to form more than a probable conclusion; but I am confident, by the enemy's retention of Wittemberg, &c., that he expects an early advance of the new army to open the communications. If he moves in such strength as to oblige the retreat of Count Wittgenstein and General Blucher the repassage of the Elbe must be attended with many serious difficulties, and I should fear for the safety of Berlin eventually. Your Lordship will know whether the allied army under Marshal Kutusow's immediate orders can muster eighty thousand men to oppose the enemy's mass coming through Saxony. If not, progress may cost dear to the enemy; but successful resistance with a less force on the left bank of the Elbe is scarcely to be pretended, if there be any truth in the statements I have communicated to your Lordship, which are confirmed by a variety of collateral evidences.

It is my intention to go to the Saal, then to look at Wittemberg, and from hence to proceed by Leipzic to Meissen, where I expect to fall in with General Milaradowitch's advanced guard.

[Remainder missing.]

No. 16.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART.

MY LORD, Leipzic, 16th April, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you with my arrival here yesterday, where I found General Winzingerode's head-quarters. By the General's particular request I remained this day.

Yesterday evening advice was received of Buonaparte's having quitted Paris on the 9th, and some merchants here told me this day that he was expected at Frankfort on the 15th—the very day which was designated to me when I was at Warsaw as the day for his return to the army. This morning advice was received by General Winzingerode from a most confidential and well-informed quarter of Marshal Ney having transferred his head-quarters from Wurzburg on the 12th to Gotha, with a force exceeding eighty thousand men, but little cavalry had yet appeared. The Italian three divisions, one of them composed of old soldiers, had joined.

General Lanskoi detached from General Winzingerode with three thousand horse of the nine thousand under his command, and made some prisoners on the Saal, and proposed to enter Nordhausen to-morrow. The troops of the Magdeburg army retired towards Halberstadt.

From intercepted letters it appears the peasantry have been opposing in various ways the execution of the French service, and that the enemy are making very severe examinations in all the villages they occupy.

General Winzingerode's confidential opinion is unfavourable to the hopes that have been promulgated of further progress. The General conceives that, unless Austria co-operates with the Allies, the enemy will have too great numerical strength and possesses too controlling advantages of position even for resistance on this side of the Elbe.

I think it my duty to commit to your Lordship's judgment and honour these confidential communications of personal friends who happen to be in high command that your Lordship may be enabled to appreciate justly the state of this important epoch.

In my last letter I took the liberty of suggesting the opinion I had formed as to the inability of the Allies to maintain themselves on this side of the Elbe, unless Prince Kutusow could bring up eighty thousand men. It is very doubtful to me whether the enemy will not anticipate the possible arrival of the Russian army; but if not, unless the Marshal is resolved to fight an immediate battle on this side of the Elbe, I hope your Lordship will think it expedient to counsel against a movement which will be attended with very many great prejudices to the interests and character of the Allies. Retreat from Dresden and the line of the Elbe over temporary bridges* must be hazardous, especially if accompanied with the general confusion that prevails in such passages; and if it is executed without loss, the enemy will still assert a triumph and affix some ridicule to the disappointment of the Allies.

Whatever is decided should, however, be quickly

* It is now about the season of the Freshes, and the peasants say, if the water rises the temporary bridges will all be carried away.

put into preparation for execution, as General Wittgenstein's continuation on this side of the river with only a single bridge at Dessau, and that not a very good one, merits early attention.* General Winzingerode, if offensive operations are not ordered, will clear away to his rear, and would gladly be freed from all unnecessary force for the objects which he then would have to accomplish.

Dresden, April 20th.

I arrived here yesterday, and rejoined General Milaradowitch. From Leipzic I passed by Altenberg, to which General Blucher had removed his head-quarters from Zwickau. I there learnt the intelligence of the Bavarians having lost five cannon in a gallant attack made against their corps of two thousand men by only three hundred horse under the command of the son of General Blucher; and of four hundred men, comprising a battalion of the contingent of Weimar, having laid down their arms at Eisenach; but I believe there was more good-will than necessity in the last transaction. General Blucher did not know and did not anticipate Marshal's Ney's movement on Gotha. His intelligence induced him to believe that different measures were proposed; but before I left Altenberg he had received advice of Gotha having been strongly occupied on the 15th. Indeed there could be no doubt of the accuracy of General Winzingerode's information.†

General Charnhotzh seemed to think that the enemy's

* He may pass to his left and put the bridge making at Elster and the bridge at Meissen behind him, but then he uncovers Berlin.

† Since that time advice has been received of the enemy having occupied Weimar.

real intentions were still doubtful; but he knew of Marshal Beauharnois having marched in the direction of Halberstadt, and that the 5th corps under his command and composed of four divisions amounted to thirty-eight thousand odd hundred infantry, two thousand odd hundred cavalry, and above one thousand artillery.

Indeed, I saw the French return, which had been intercepted. Exclusive of this force there is the garrison of Magdeburg; Victor's corps, which is feeble; and the troops under General Vandamme, including the new divisions from Wesel of Dumonçeau and Dufour.

There is, moreover, the Hanoverian and Magdeburg reserve cavalry, which General Walmoden estimated at about eight thousand men.

Whether the army formed under Marshal Ney and now under Buonaparte in person will unite with Marshal Beauharnois and move on Wittemberg and Torgau, or whether Marshal Beauharnois will only be reinforced and pass the Elbe at Magdeburg whilst Buonaparte marches against Dresden through country extremely unfavourable for cavalry, is not sufficiently clear for any assurance and I will not trouble your Lordship with a speculative opinion; but either movement will oblige us to repass the Elbe, and, therefore, from the zealous interest which I take in the welfare of the Allied armies as well as the great objects of the common cause, I cannot but repeat my hopes that the head-quarters of the Russian army, and consequently the corps d'armée, will not pass the Elbe unless it is deemed that there is sufficient force for an immediate offensive operation: and

then the army ought to press forward by forced marches.

General Charnhotzh himself seemed to think that the passage of the Elbe was a doubtful measure of expepediency, and that its early repassage must be very injurious. He thought, if the army had advanced so far that it must proceed to the Elbe, that the head-quarters &c., might remain with more advantage on the right bank in the neighbourhood of the Neustadt of Dresden.

Various couriers from different parts have been taken. The returns so intercepted make the army under Marshal Ney about one hundred and fifty thousand men as the total force between Gotha and the Rhine.

From French letters it appears that Marshal Beauharnois had forty-five thousand men out of Magdeburg when he was attacked by General Wittgenstein, and strong insinuations are made against his disposition on that occasion and his ability to command.

The army of Marshal Beauharnois has entirely consumed, according to the same authorities, the food in the neighbourhood of Madgeburg, and cannot remain much longer in that circle without drawing food from the garrison magazines.

The return of Buonaparte was not known but anxiously required.

I had not much opportunity of seeing troops belonging to General Blucher's army; but what I did see of cavalry was in very high order. The infantry are of the same description as General Yorck's.

I left General Blucher very unwell at Altenberg.

All the young Princes of the Royal Family of Prussia in the service were at head-quarters.

General Milaradowitch will move on Wednesday to Freyburg. I have taken the liberty to suggest to him the necessity of rendering his corps as mobile as possible—especially as the country is very unfavourable for carriage transport—and he proposes to do so with suitable arrangements.

I intend to accompany him; but I send Captain Charles to head-quarters that he may carry this letter and answer such questions as your Lordship may have to put relative to localities, &c. On his discretion whilst at head-quarters your Lordship may confidently rely.

As it may hereafter promote the service, I think it right to say that I have received strong invitations from every general on the line I have passed to revisit them, and that I enjoy their confidence as a brother soldier loyally attached to a common cause, &c., &c.*

There has been a negotiation for the departure of the troops at Torgau; but General Winzingerode himself puts little confidence in the declaration of the Government, although he has tendered his honour to declare in eight days for the Allies whatever decision the King makes on his proposition.

General Winzingerode has in the mean time profited by getting arches and boats, &c., from the town for his bridge.

Evening, 20th.

This morning I had opportunity of seeing General Milaradowitch's cavalry pass through Dresden. It

* See letter from Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart, printed in the text, p. 344.

was in very high order; and his flying artillery in excellent condition.

The bridge of Dresden, which I passed on this occasion, is, I am happy to say, solidly repaired, and admits of safe and durable passage as long as the timber frame is not injured by the stream.

No. 17.

Sir Robert Wilson to the Earl of Cathcart.

My Lord, Chemnitz, 26th April, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that General Milaradowitch has established his advance at Plauen and Schleitz.

General Blücher, in consequence of the enemy's occupation of Jena in force, has been obliged to withdraw his post from Bunzlau and place it at Jauer.

General Winzingerode is at Leipzic, and the day before yesterday received a reinforcement of three thousand infantry from the corps of General Barclay de Tolly.

Count Wittgenstein has his head-quarters at Delitzsch, but I have not learnt the disposition of his force, nor what arrangements he has made relative to Dessau.

Marshal Beauharnois has his head-quarters at Quedlinburg. The new army, now according to the most authentic accounts one hundred and ten thousand strong, occupies the line of the Saal, and communicates with Marshal Beauharnois. In this estimation of strength the divisions to be left in Bavaria are not included, only the disposable force which has been

collecting in Franconia, &c., &c., which has now concentrated and moved to the line of operations.

In my former letter I mentioned to your Lordship that the cavalry from Spain had arrived, but I understand that the men only came from thence and by post conveyance, and that they were mounted on horses provided for them in Germany. The Italian division, which is generally described to be in fine order, brought their horses from Italy.

As I wish much to see the country occupied by General Milaradowitch's advance and between that and the enemy, I have sent my aide-de-camp to head-quarters to receive your Lordship's instructions.

The country in which we are is, as I have before noted to your Lordship, favourable to the enemy's composition of force, and, as it is in the highest state of prosperity, offers abundant supplies; but I still think the enemy will keep the superior line and endeavour by the same movement to possess himself of the capitals of Berlin and Dresden, which intention only a successful offensive operation can frustrate. A successful defensive system on this side of the Elbe with the means of the Allies and the disadvantages of their position seems to me impracticable.

12 *o'clock*, MD.—Since writing the above, a report has been received from General S. Priest, by which it appears that the army of Marshal Beauharnois had made a demonstration, menacing an attack. Count Wittgenstein has moved from Delitzsch to Merseburg, and General Blucher also proposes withdrawing his right. The advance parties, in force, of Marshal Ney have occupied Lobenstein, and between two and three

thousand have entered Baruth; Munchberg is also entered by the enemy.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,
(Signed) Robt. Wilson.

No. 18.

Sir Robert Wilson to the Earl of Cathcart.

My Lord, Chemnitz, 27th April, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the enemy continues to advance his forces. Jena is now occupied by the division of Grenier, and Souham's division is at Naumburg. His advanced posts have passed the Saal, and are posted between that river and the Elster. It is thought that a powerful column will direct itself by Gera and Pegau to Altenberg. The Allied forces are concentrating and will move to save the point most menaced. General Milaradowitch will, in the first instance, approach Altenberg, and meet his corps at Penig. He marches to-morrow, but he leaves a detachment at Zwickau, and will keep a post at Plauen.

28*th*.—The reports of this morning state that the enemy have no longer any force at Lobenstein. I have received your Lordship's letter* by Baron Brinken, and I feel obliged by your Lordship's explanations. I trust your Lordship will believe that the good of the service is ever with me the chief object, and that I am most anxious to execute your Lordship's orders implicitly, but I feared a misunderstanding about terms,

* The Editor has not found this letter among the papers. If found hereafter, it shall be published.

which might prevent my power of utility and cause many personal inconveniences.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBT. WILSON.

I went yesterday to General S. Priest, at Lichtenstein, who commands General Milaradowitch's advanced guard, but there was no intelligence of importance received there during the day.

No. 19.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO THE EARL OF CATHCART.

MY LORD, Altenberg, 30th April, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that this morning General Milaradowitch received a request from General Blucher to advance with his corps from Penig to Altenberg, which request his Excellency has complied with.

On my arrival here I found General Blucher still in the town, but on his way to Borna, where his headquarters will be established.

I learnt that the enemy had the day before yesterday endeavoured to pass the Saal at Halle, but General Kleist, with a heavy artillery fire, frustrated Marshal Beauharnois' intention. The Marshal then mounted the Saal and General Kleist followed the movement on the opposite bank. On the same day the enemy succeeded in passing at Naumburg and constructed a bridge at Rossbach.

Yesterday, Marshal Beauharnois attacked Merseburg

where two Prussian battalions were posted, and took the town, killing two hundred Prussians, whilst the advanced guard of the Naumburg troops took Weissenfelt.

In all these affairs however it is universally admitted that the Prussians showed great courage.

The enemy, under the command of Buonaparte in person, has his principal force at Naumburg, but it is said there is a column under the command of General Bertrand, twenty-four thousand strong, moving on Altenberg from Jena.

General Kleist is at Schkeuditz, Count Wittgenstein at Leipzic, General Winzingerode at Zwickau, General Blucher will be at Borna, and the Russian principal army at Frohburg.

The ground selected for battle is not thought favourable for the cavalry superiority of the Allies, it being intersected with canals and streams. The position is also strategically imperfect, especially on our left. The enemy are moreover superior in force, but battle being resolved upon I am confident that one general spirit of devotional zeal for the service of their respective countries and the common cause will animate the Allies and assure heroic exertions.

General Milaradowitch has his advance at Gera, Zeitz, and Zwickau.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's obedient and humble servant,

ROBT. WILSON.

As Captain Rodney is come here and is returning to your Lordship, I may state that General Charnhotzh is of opinion that we ought not to have fought in front

of Leipzic; and that such is the erroneous estimation of Russians even of their own force, that General Tol, the Quartermaster-general, estimated this day to General Milaradowitch himself the corps commanded by General Milaradowitch at sixteen thousand; whereas, including a new force that moved the day before yesterday and every description of force and person, it amounts to only ten thousand four hundred men.

At Altenberg there certainly ought to be fifteen thousand men, and a strong detachment at Zwickau, to cover the Chemnitz road.

No. 20.

MEMORANDUM OF SIR ROBERT WILSON ON THE OPERATIONS AFTER THE BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

Bautzen, 14th May, 1813.

The battle of Lutzen having failed in the object of repulsing the enemy's approach to the Elbe, the Allies were under the necessity of repassing that river with expedition, as the enemy had a direct route to his bridges, and the Allies had an extended oblique line of communication.*

By the obligation to pass the Elbe at Meissen and Dresden, the enemy have not only possessed themselves of the country on the left bank of the Elbe, but have had the opportunity of intercepting direct communication with Berlin.

There are some persons, however, who pretend that the Allies may still successfully manœuvre between

* The left of the Allies was obliged, for three days, to bend within four miles' distance round Leipzic, then in possession of the enemy.

the Oder and the Elbe, so as to check Buonaparte's further progress in the first instance and oblige an ultimate retreat to his têtes-du-pont on the latter river.

This plan of campaign must be either founded on the supposition of the Allies still possessing a superior force, or of the points of strategy being so much in their favour as to give a numerical inferiority superior strength.

According to the most general and authentic information Buonaparte had collected in front of the Thuringia Forest, towards the latter end of April, one hundred and ten thousand men including the Bavarian contingent which moved on the Chemnitz road to Dresden; and on the 20th of April, according to positive returns, Marshal Beauharnois had an effective force in the 5th corps of four divisions, amounting to forty-one thousand men including artillery; which force was assembled on the Saal.

Exclusive of this force there were two divisions that marched from the Weser to Bremen; eighteen thousand men, under Marshal Davoust, on the lower Elbe; and the garrison of Magdeburg, under the orders of General Lauriston: the total cannot be estimated at less than forty thousand.

The enemy moreover had in the fortress of Torgau* thirteen thousand men, and in Wittenberg four thousand; so that the amount of the whole that would assemble on the Elbe, in case of no opposition, was two hundred and seven thousand men.

* From the returns given by General Kellermann it appears that there were only eleven thousand five hundred men in Torgau when he quitted that place: but the King brought with him from Pralen, appropriated to the French service, one thousand five hundred cavalry; so that the calculation of thirteen thousand is valid as to the amount of Saxon force.

The battle of Lutzen and other casualties may have reduced this force say fifteen thousand men, and there will probably be a need of as many more in the fortresses; so that the disposable residue for operations on the right bank of the Elbe amounts to one hundred and seventy-seven thousand men.

It is unnecessary to estimate the force of the Allies on the left bank of the Elbe. Present means, not what have been past means, are the object of inquiry.

On the lower Elbe the Allies have various detachments, depots, &c., which may be calculated at eight thousand disposable men. General Bulow, with Count Woronzow's detachment, has twelve thousand men employed in the blockade of Magdeburg; and the Russian and Prussian combined grand armies may amount to, but do not exceed, sixty thousand effective men.

General Barclay de Tolly is said to be approaching with fifteen thousand men, including militia convalescents, &c., collected in his route from Thorn; but his own corps, exclusive of Count Woronzow's detachment already enumerated, does not exceed eight thousand men. According to this calculation, the total of regular troops which the Allies can employ between the Elbe and Oder produces a force of not quite ninety thousand men.

It is said that there is a very great force assembled under the new creation of the Landwehr. This assembly may be valued in the aggregate, including the effectives of the doubtful seven thousand of Barclay's fifteen thousand, at twenty-five thousand men.

General Sacken is also said to be on march with six thousand men, but in the case of his withdrawing

from Cracow, twenty thousand Poles will have been released to augment the French army which have not yet been noted to its strength. It is however more than probable that if Poniatowsky, with his corps, has retired through Bohemia Sacken's force will still be fully occupied with repressing the insurrectionary spirit that has never ceased to exist in the Duchy.

The blockading corps of the fortresses on the Oder and the Vistula cannot supply any additional strength to the disposable force of the Allies. They are already greatly inferior to the enemy's garrisons—on an average one half—and the approach of the enemy will require an augmentation of their strength which must be supplied from the resources intended for the grand army.

The reinforcements said to be on march are also not, in this stage of the campaign, to be calculated as influencing the propriety or impropriety of maintaining the war between the Elbe and Oder: first, as these reinforcements are indefinite as to number; secondly, as it is known that they have not yet passed the Vistula; thirdly, as the wear and tear of the war will require a great proportion to keep up the present effective strength of the Allies; and fourthly, as the enemy is indisputably receiving reinforcements to the same extent, which are not included in the estimate of his means.

The Prussian reinforcements might indeed gain upon the consumption of the present army; but then the Prussian fortresses must, in this state of affairs, have complete garrisons: and several of them require very considerable ones, particularly Colberg. A force must also be detached to Königsberg to cover that important territory, as the Allies might not be able to detach in time after the enemy has passed the Oder.

The *résumé* of this calculation then is, that Buonaparte has a disposable force of one hundred and seventy-seven thousand men, and the Allies of one hundred and fifteen thousand men, of which thirty-five thousand, if the Landwehr remain attached to General Bulow's fortunes, are thrown upon the Baltic coast as the base of their operations.

The Allies at present have a superiority of cavalry both as to number and composition, but hitherto their superiority for a distance of above one hundred miles has not been able to check the enemy's progress.

The enemy's artillery is probably as numerous and is heavier. To the present time there has appeared no deficiency as to its service. The enemy's infantry, for the greater part, may be inexperienced, but there are twenty thousand trained soldiers in his guards, twenty thousand in Beauharnois' corps, ten thousand in his Italian corps, probably a proportion in Marshal Ney's corps, and in the garrisons he will find near thirty thousand men, who have been in regular duty for five months.

The infantry of the Prussians is also for the greater part inexperienced, and the Russian infantry are labouring under great disadvantages arising from the weakness of regiments: there are several instances where three battalions cannot muster two hundred men. The tone of the Prussian army is high, but it is in extreme want of capable officers. The tone of the Russian army is much depressed, and energetic exertions will with difficulty be obtained until the ranks are reinforced.

The troops of neither nation are very mobile. The incumbrance of carriages is still excessive. With the Russian army alone, including artillery, there can-

not be less than twelve thousand; although the carriages of the wounded are now separated.

Safe communications and solid bases of operations from whence the enemy's communications can be more or less intersected, are the great principles of strategy; moreover, in the field, courage and superiority of force are subordinate instruments of success. Genius, valour, and numbers may win battles, but unless respect has been paid to the rules of science in the regulation of general movements *to* and *from* the theatre of action the victory of arms will be ephemeral.

The French army is connected with its resources through a secure line of country and by good routes. The Elbe now covers that communication. Two fortresses of the first order, a strong tête-du-pont, and a capital, form the base for its progress from the right bank. From these fortresses all that an active army can require will be supplied. To these fortresses all that incommodes the movement of an army may be sent.

The distance to the Oder is from sixty to one hundred miles. Here the enemy has again three fortresses, now containing nearly twenty thousand men. The fortress of Spandau on the Spree river, capable of holding about three thousand men, alone intercepts one line of communication.

On the left flank of the enemy there is now no hostile fortress since the demolishment of Stralsund; and if the Island of Rugen afford a *place of arms* for the summer, a corps of Danes on the frontiers of Holstein can check all operations from thence upon the line of coast between Stettin and Lubeck.

On the other hand the Allies have no fortress on

the Elbe; and none on the Oder which can be used as a place of arms—no tête-du-pont or base for operations between the Elbe and the latter river.

If the Allies take a position between those rivers below Glogau they must keep corps of observation against the enemy's fortresses and posts, whilst they hazard battle to the enemy's active army to check his progress to the relief of his fortresses on the Oder. The forces thrown upon the sea-line can give no aid. There can be no combination of action with them; for, having no safe station on the coast between Hamburg and Stettin, they must retire to Colberg, whence they can give only useful co-operation when the enemy would pass from the Oder to Dantzic.

The force of the Allies disposable against the enemy, after leaving fifteen thousand to cover Silesia, would thus amount to only sixty-five thousand men: whilst Buonaparte, detaching twenty-five thousand to watch Stralsund and open a communication with Stettin, would have a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men to direct against the fifteen thousand detached to cover Silesia and the sixty-five thousand who had selected some position on the Oder, with temporary têtes-du-pont as the base of their operations; and these têtes-du-pont must be flanked by two of his fortresses. These fortresses would afford him passage, permanent security, and a base on either side of the river; whereas temporary têtes-du-pont and establishments can only provide security for passage from either bank where the ground is particularly favourable.

With such superiority of force added to such advantages of position there is scarcely a mode of conducting the campaign, as has been proposed, that would not be disastrous to the Allies.

The enemy most probably would detach fifty thousand men to enter Silesia.

Would the Allies attempt to fall on the flank of that force? They must, when they advance to mount the Oder, expose their bridges and pass the hostile fortress of Glogau whilst they sustain the pressure of one hundred thousand pursuers. Would they rest on the defensive, see Silesia pierced, and the communication opened with the Poles? Would they attack the one hundred thousand men appuyed upon Custrin and thus *à cheval* upon the Oder, being assured of their own retreat being cut off from the Vistula and Silesia in case of defeat? Would they encourage the passage of the Oder to the enemy in the hope of cutting off one hundred thousand men, who would have left behind them strong fortresses, and on the left of whose front would be Dantzic with a considerable garrison; while these hundred thousand men, by a few miles' march would reach a country that only requires the approach of a French army to induce it to rise in formidable insurrection? But it is probable that the enemy would add twenty thousand of this one hundred thousand to the twenty-five thousand already detached to watch the line of coast, and that this body, in concert with the fifty thousand on the Silesian frontier, would act simultaneously and engage all the forces of the Allies, while each corps would be in communication with the French army on the right bank of the Oder, by the fortresses of Glogau and Stettin.

In this state of isolation and pressure, how could the Allies procure subsistence? How could they receive their needed supplies of men and warlike stores?

Before them, behind them, around them, there would

be hostile fortresses, difficult rivers, and considerable armies; whilst the Polish insurrection, free from immediate control, would be sweeping through Lithuania, Podolia, and Wolhynia.

Supposing that the enemy had only an equal force, still his advantages are far greater. He commands the passage of the Oder and the most strategical points —for the position of the fortresses was selected upon that principle—whereas the Allies would only have one or two points of passage, not the most favourable for relative tactical movements, but forced upon them by the necessity of their case.

It does not appear possible, if these data be correct, that the greatest talent and the most general devotion can triumph against such difficulties; and if there should be a failure it would be no partial misfortune, but a most complete destruction of the armies.

There are occasions when an early sacrifice of a part may save the whole, by preservation of the germ of recovery.

It is painful to abandon valuable territory, to leave friends unprotected, to extinguish the ardent hopes of nations invited to take arms and preparing to array themselves in the lines of the Allies, to confess inferiority, and imagine the vaunts of an insolent enemy; but if, after close investigation, it appears that perseverance in an erroneous plan of operations will add to those evils not only irretrievable disaster but the extinction of all hope, surely it is better to show energy in submission to ill-fortune and prepare in adversity the means of future success.

Under this impression I do conceive the Allies have no other alternative but to retire with all safe leisure

behind the Oder, endeavouring in the course of this movement to sustain the moral of their army and prevent the enemy from gaining any military advantage in their progress.

To retard the siege of the Silesian fortresses it would be expedient to throw thirty thousand regulars into that province; which, co-operating with the armed population and the garrisons, would either prevent present invasion or oblige the enemy to employ a very considerable proportion of his force.

To render the communication with Dantzic difficult and oblige another great appropriation of force from the enemy's centre, thirty thousand men should occupy the entrenched camp and fortress of Colberg.

In a position between Kalish and Posen, the Allied main army, still exceeding fifty thousand men when all its detachments are assembled, will be appuyed so as to succour or receive succour from both flanks: then it would cover the communication with the Vistula, awe Warsaw and the Polish provinces, whilst favourable ground would be found on all sides for the multiplication of its power by the opportunity of employing its cavalry.

In this attitude the Russian army might await its reinforcements and, if previously forced back, could experience no very great disaster as its retreat would be made through very open country.

On the contrary the enemy would have to pass through a narrow country—a species of *cul de sac*—both sides of which will be lined with forces, threatening the line of communication; and at the extremity of that *cul de sac* the Allies would rally again upon a

fortified tête-du-pont of some strength, and on one of the most considerable fortresses of Europe.

Although Buonaparte cannot be crushed at once, Europe would still retain hope of ultimate success if she saw that the war would be continued. France and the French army fear protracted hostilities beyond the Oder; and Austria would probably be decisively influenced in favour of the Allies if she perceived that the struggle bore a durable character.

Perseverance is the terror of the enemy. He feels that there are many positive results from such a system to prejudice his interests, and he does not altogether hold in contempt the contingencies of the chapter of accidents.

If this plan of campaign did not obtain brilliant victory, it would prevent any being achieved in favour of the enemy. If it did not augment the number of allies in aid of the common cause, it would check the increase of its enemies.* If it did not, by future conquest, terminate the war, it would impose the necessity of moderation on the enemy to arrange a practicable peace.

No. 21.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Gorlitz, May 22nd, 1813.

The enemy having withdrawn for the night into the position of Weissenberg, the advanced guard continued to occupy the posts in front of Wurzen until the

* In controlling Turkey, who is at least a very suspicious neutral.—R. W.

morning, when it commenced its prescribed movement on Reichenbach.

The enemy, commanded by Buonaparte in person, pressed forward in the hope of intercepting General Milaradowitch with the victorious troops of the left wing, who had orders to march by the route of Lobau on Reichenbach, but this intention was frustrated by the activity and prudence of the general.

At Reichenbach a position was occupied by the rear-guard in the rear of Reichenbach, but their advance covered the town.

The enemy hoped to dislodge this advance by a demonstration with his cavalry and the fire of his artillery; but he could make no impression until his heavy column of infantry arrived and began to deploy, when the troops withdrew to the position behind the town, leaving only two battalions of chasseurs to defend the entrances and defile.

These battalions, however, made such an obstinate resistance that the enemy was obliged to employ a considerable force; but at length an opportunity presenting itself, as he thought, for the operation of his cavalry, a body was ordered to charge and pass through Reichenbach.

The attack was opposed by a party of Russian cavalry who had been ordered to support the chasseurs; and of the enemy's cavalry that entered Reichenbach very few, if any, survived the Russian charge and the fire of the chasseurs.

Baffled in this attempt, eight hundred of the Imperial Guard (as it is called), supported by a regiment of lancers and sustained by between two and three

thousand horse, attempted to turn and take in the rear a Russian battery which had on the left been advanced upon a height, and round which was level grass ground. General Albert led this attack. The advanced parties of Russian cavalry fell back. The enemy shouted victory. At that instant a regiment of Russian hussars, with a party of Cossacks, darted upon the flank of the Imperial guard; other corps in reserve pressed forward, and the enemy fled back with the loss of several hundred men killed, wounded, and taken.

By additional weight of artillery—one battery alone consisting of forty pieces of cannon—and the occupation by circuitous marches of various flanking heights, the Allied rear-guard was at last obliged to withdraw one werst from the position: but the retreat was made in the most perfect order, and the conduct of the whole operation was of a character to impress the enemy with additional respect for troops who, after such a severe and most unequal combat in the preceding eighteen hours, could still present their lines of battle regulated with most perfect order and acting with such animated energy.

The next morning the rear-guard marched for Gorlitz, without any interruption from the enemy and from the advance batteries of the position on the plain of Bautzen to this town. The enemy have not found even a wheel abandoned by the Allies.

The prisoners report that General Duroc was killed by a cannon-ball during the action.

No. 22.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Jauer, 27th May, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that this day, on this side of Colberg, two squadrons of the Regiment of Melissino and two squadrons of Prince Tcherbatow's Cossacks supported by four squadrons of the respective corps, attacked twelve squadrons of cuirassiers and Napoleon dragoons, routed them, killed a general and several men, and took a colonel, seven officers, and one hundred and eighty-four men.

Count Wittgenstein has also received a report from a partisan corps commanded by General Cäsaroff, stating the destruction of an enemy's ammunition park, the death of two generals, and the capture of two guns.

The officers now taken confirm the report of General Duroc's death, and state that he was killed by a cannon-ball at Reichenbach.

Your Lordship will, of course, hear of the particulars of General Blucher's success yesterday evening near Haynau, therefore I do not trouble you with a repetition.

The enemy seem to be directing their principal force against the right; but, it is said, that, being obliged to keep in masses, they already experience a want of provisions and provender.

All the cavalry horses yet taken are of an inferior quality.

This evening a considerable reinforcement of Russian convalescents, armed and equipped, arrived in camp.

&c. &c. &c.

No. 23.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Jauer, 27th May, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia was this day graciously pleased, when at the head of his troops, to confer upon me the order of S. George of the third class.

As his Excellency Sir C. Stewart was present, I must beg to refer your Lordship to a statement of his Excellency's as to what occurred on the occasion, and which his Excellency has been kind enough to say he would make to your Lordship.

I shall feel obliged by your Lordship's transmission of that document to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with my humble request to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent for permission to accept, wear, and enjoy the insignia and privileges attached to the Order.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant;

(Signed) R. W.

No. 24.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Schweidnitz, 3rd June, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that five hundred prisoners were brought in here this evening,

taken by General Cysenow* who, it is said, was not informed of the armistice.

Some of the prisoners report that a French corps had marched against General Bulow, defeated him, and then continued its route upon Berlin; but Count Wittgenstein has received no such information from General Bulow or any of his partisan detachments.

The army has withdrawn behind Schweidnitz. It was to have marched farther this night, but has received a countermand.

Between two and three thousand reinforcements, some of them militia, joined the Russian corps in the camp near Schweidnitz this afternoon.

During the day the enemy pressed back the posts of General Lanskoi on the route to Breslau, but I only know the fact without the pretext.

Amongst the prisoners who arrived here yesterday were forty-six Spaniards, and twenty in the preceding two days.

&c. &c. &c..

MEM.—It is true Bulow's advance has received a check, and that Bulow has retired on Sagan, thus almost uncovering Berlin. I could not, however, for certain reasons note the whole extent of my information subsequently obtained, nor can I now do so when it is not of an auspicious complexion. I only mark enough to show that something remains behind, and ought to be inquired into if not communicated. More

* This letter is *original*, and the name is so spelt. It appears to be identical with that spelt *Cäsaroff* by Sir Robert Wilson's amanuensis in No. 22, which is a *copy*.—ED.

explicit reports would not benefit the public, but only expose myself to the effects of malevolent jealousy. With Stewart *c'est tout autre chose*, and I work through him for British and indeed general interests.

No. 25.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR CHARLES STEWART, K.B. TO HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(*Separate.*)

Imperial Head-quarters, Schweidnitz,
30th May, 1813.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to send your Lordship the copy of a letter which I addressed on the 27th instant to Viscount Cathcart. The circumstances detailed in the communication I hope will justify my having taken this step.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Lieutenant-General.

To Viscount Castlereagh,
&c., &c., &c.

(COPY.)

Imperial Head-quarters, Striegau,
27th May, 1813.

MY LORD,

I hope I do not exceed the line of my duty in officially representing to your Excellency the mark of distinction and honour that has been conferred on Brigadier-general Sir Robert Wilson by the Emperor of Russia in the camp in front of Jauer this morning.

It is so grateful a task to witness the merits of a brother officer justly rewarded, and there is so much in the manner in which the honour was conferred by his Imperial Majesty, that I hope I shall stand excused in detailing to your Excellency so signal a testimonial of his Imperial Majesty's approbation of the services of this officer.

Your Excellency having left Jauer before the Emperor's intention of seeing the troops in bivouac near that place was known, I rode out in the suite of his Imperial Majesty, who went along the line and was received with enthusiasm by the soldiers.

The Emperor took a favourable moment when he was surrounded by his general and staff officers, in the front of the troops, to call Sir Robert Wilson to him, and to address to him a most flattering speech; in which his Imperial Majesty stated that he appreciated his services, gallantry, and zeal throughout the whole war as they deserved; that in testimony of this he had determined to confer on him the third class of the Order of St. George, and that he was desirous of doing it in the most gratifying manner. He then directed General Augerausky to take his cross from his neck, and he delivered it to Sir Robert Wilson.

The gracious manner, the well-chosen moment, and the pride I felt that one of our companions in arms should be thus decorated in front of the Allied army, will justify me, I trust, if my feelings have led me improperly to detail these circumstances to your Excellency.

Brigadier-general Sir Robert Wilson received the cross from his Imperial Majesty until the pleasure

of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent shall be known.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Lieutenant-General.

No. 26.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Colberg, 5th July, 1813.

Previously to my departure from Berlin on the 2nd, an inspection of the Landstürm was made, but not to the amount I expected.

The battalions on the ground were well exercised, and eight guns well manned.

During the armistice fifty guns have been made and equipped in the Berlin arsenal.

At Schwedt, on the 3rd, I met General Ahrenschildt with the rear-divisions of the German Legion. Such part as I saw was well equipped and in general good condition.

The Legion, I was informed, consisted of fourteen hundred hussars, some artillery, and above four thousand infantry—three hundred and sixty Saxons, taken at Luneberg, having enlisted the preceding day and a party of volunteers having expressly come from Hanover to join.

I found General Tauenzein's head-quarters at Kurow —a short German mile from Stettin. The general was himself absent on a visit to the Crown Prince.

The stipulations of the armistice in favour of the

enemy's garrisons had not been carried into execution at Stettin, so that hostilities had not ceased; but I was enabled to approach very close to the works, and accurately reconnoitre the place, which appears to me incapable of long resistance against regular approaches and not very difficult to take by assault; unless the enemy has constructed yet unknown interior defences.

The town is surrounded by a fortification, consisting of seven bastions, connected with curtains. There are three advanced works—Fort Preussen, detached three hundred yards, on the western front; Fort William, a horn-work, on the northern front; and Fort Leopold, another horn-work, on the extremity of the same front, near to the river. The two last lie close to the body of the place. The ditch of Fort Preussen is eighteen feet deep; the ditch round the town fortifications is twelve feet deep: all are dry.

After the capture of Fort Preussen, the place may be battered in breach from the height on which the gallows is erected, and to which there is a safe approach.

The present garrison consists of eight thousand men (four thousand belonged to the French army that invaded Russia), but Fort Preussen—a star-fort detached three hundred yards from the body of the place, on the western front—requires a garrison of one thousand men; and Fort Damm,* on the right bank of the Oder, with its dyke of communication intersected in the distance of a German mile by no less than one great bridge and thirty-three smaller ones, will occupy at least fifteen hundred men; so that Stettin, presenting an extent of front at this season of the year of not less than three thousand yards, must be maintained by a

* Printed by error *Damin* in the text.

very inadequate garrison. From the residue of the garrison sick must be deducted, the number of whom is said to be considerable.

The want of powder, it is said, prevented General Tauenzein from attempting the siege with the forces under his command aided by the Landstürm, which *then* did not amount to fourteen thousand infantry and two regiments of Cossacks with some regular cavalry; but *now* only to nine thousand infantry and one regiment of Cossacks, with about two hundred hussars.

These nine thousand are chiefly regulars, in very good order, armed, and in expectation of English clothing. Nearly one-half blockade Damm, where a Colonel Roedler commands whose arrangements do him great credit. The greatest regularity and best order prevails through the whole corps under the command of General Tauenzein, and the ground is skilfully selected for the blockade.

The enemy have chiefly been occupied with works at Fort Damm, which, with other circumstances, induces a belief that the Governor of Stettin expects a corps to debouch from this point in the first instance. Fort Damm ought to be taken, as it deprives Stettin of all value to the enemy as a base for operations; but there must be then no further scruple about the destruction of the Oder bridge. Fort Damm has a wet ditch, but the Plöne river, which supplies it, can be turned in its course.

The Governor finding that General Tauenzein would not grant him provisions, on the grounds stated in the correspondence which I presume your Lordship has read, has taken into the public magazines all the provi-

sions belonging to the inhabitants; of whom, it is calculated, there are sixteen thousand and many largely provided. The inhabitants have, in consequence, been obliged to emigrate. Several hundred left the city on the day preceding my arrival, and one hundred and fifty were to withdraw yesterday.

On my route to Colberg I passed many parties of militia, composed of fine young men and well equipped. In this garrison I find three more battalions of militia of the same description.

The fortress of Colberg ought to have a garrison of at least nine thousand men, and twenty-five or thirty thousand, including the garrison, are required for the entrenched position in advance of the town which consists of twenty-eight redoubts of the most solid construction, some of them very capacious. This entrenched position is now in great forwardness. Two thousand five hundred workmen, including one thousand French and the inhabitants of the town and environs, are daily employed; and the commandant, whose exertions seem to have been very meritorious, expects to have the whole complete, and the fortress itself in a proper state of defence in three weeks; although he wants more aid and the necessary materials are distant.

Seventy more pieces of heavy cannon are required, and an additional supply of powder—three hundred thousand pounds of powder, four thousand four hundred pounds of sulphur, and six thousand six hundred pounds of saltpetre. Unless Stettin falls, there is no means to provide the artillery, except the guns can be spared from Pillau. The powder is not to be obtained from any Prussian stores.

The works upon the sea-line are now sufficient to secure the post which was last war commanded by the enemy; but then the garrison consisted but of two thousand men.

The armistice after the battle of Friedland, happily for Prussia, relieved the place which otherwise must have fallen.

Colberg may now be considered as the maritime base of the Prussian monarchy, and the scale and character of its defences are worthy its importance.

The fortifications which surround the town have been a little neglected during the peace. They are however entire. A very broad wet ditch, twelve feet deep, washes the whole; and some of the outworks, of which there are eight, have also wet ditches.

There are not casemates in the town for more than fifteen hundred men.

There are provisions nearly complete for the subsistence of four thousand men one twelvemonth.

Their Royal Highnesses the French Princes are landed at Colberg, awaiting letters from his Imperial Majesty and the King of Prussia.

The 'Hearty,' gun-brig, which brought them over, continues in the roads.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,
(Signed) R. W.

Despatched July 6th, at night, with flying seal, through Sir C. S., at Stralsund.

No. 27.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

Polanken, near Oliva, Head-quarters of the Allied Army before Dantzic, July 10th, 1813.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint you with my arrival here the night before last.

To my extreme regret, I found his Royal Highness the Duke of Wurtemberg very far from well. A neglected fall from a horse has brought on feebleness, fever, and various unpleasant symptoms. His Royal Highness has rallied more since my arrival, but I find him very much changed in appearance, and fear his health will not so soon be re-established as his Royal Highness himself imagines and the good of the service would render desirable; for his active superintendence, combined with the ability of his arrangements, has created and would assure the preservation of a force in a state of efficiency and order which far exceeds whatever I had expected to see—high as I had calculated his Royal Highness's zeal and military capacity—and indeed leaves nothing to desire in those respects.

When the Duke of Wurtemberg took the command of the blockading corps before Dantzic, it did not amount to nine thousand men, with eight guns: it now consists of thirty-six thousand, with above ninety pieces of cannon of which fifteen are twelve-pounders. Many of the guns are French, and were considered as unserviceable, but the Duke found the means of re-equipping them.

For some time there was no cannon or musketry ammunition, and Captain Acklam felt himself obliged

for the common good to supply powder and lead from his ship's stores. The guns have now a treble complete supply, and there is no want of musket-cartridges.

Of muskets there is still a deficiency, and fifteen thousand are required to furnish completely those who have no arms, and those whose arms are quite unserviceable.

The 4th corps, under the command of General Louis, was originally here. Its strength, including fifteen hundred marines, now amounts to eight thousand eight hundred and fifty-two; the whole in the best state. There are fourteen thousand two hundred and twenty-five militia of Petersburg, Yaroslaff, Toula, Kaluga, and Novgorod. Some of the battalions are fit to enter the guards. There are eight hundred and fifty-seven regular cavalry in the highest condition, and four thousand two hundred and fifty-eight Cossacks. The artillery exceeds twelve hundred, and is not inferior to any with the grand army.

The Prussian militia, which has acted with great courage, is returned as six thousand and twenty-five.* The cavalry amounts to five hundred and eighty-eight.

* Russian Artillery		1284
„ Infantry	8852	
„ Militia	14225	
Prussian Militia	6025	
Infantry	——	29102
Russian Cavalry	857	
Cossacks	4258	
Prussian Cavalry	588	
	——	5703
Total		36089

Of which 500 are sick and wounded in general hospital, and 200 in regimental hospitals.

The Toula, Kaluga, and Yaroslaff are the lately-arrived militia.

Several battalions of Prussian militia are marched to Landsberg on the Warta, where a corps of ten thousand men is forming.

The naval force now afloat, which may co-operate in the siege and always engage a strong proportion of the enemy, greatly enlarges the Duke's means at this season.

The gun-boats, British ships, &c., can muster a force for embarkation of very near five thousand men, but not to remain on shore.

The force of cavalry may be considered as disproportionate to the need of a blockading force; but the estimate must be made upon the *data* of there being a line of more than seventy wersts to guard or connect, and of the enemy having a considerable body of cavalry.

The infantry will probably much augment, as the militia which lately arrived left, in some instances, more than half their numbers on the road. It is to be hoped that the sickness of the greater part will have but short duration, and that the convalescents as well as wearied men will quickly rejoin their regiments.

The Duke, solicitous to begin the siege, requested fifty guns from Sweden. Captain Acklam sailed to Carlscrona and obtained the promise of their loan. They were shipped, but have been sent to Stralsund.

If the siege should be undertaken, the Duke has proposed, and Admiral Greig has consented, to take guns out of the gun-boats; and carriages are now making to mount them.

Twenty-two Russian gun-boats, each carrying three eighteen-pounders and manned by forty-five men, are now off Dantzic; and sixty-three more of the same description are expected, but they will hardly be able to remain here longer than the month of September. There are also several mortar-vessels, but the powder has been sent of such different strengths and altogether so weak, that the fire will be tardy and not very effective.

There is no want of provisions many vessels having come from Russia with supplies, but the means of transport to and from the magazines are not easily forthcoming from the inhabitants in this part of the country.

The garrison of Dantzic is allowed daily rations for twelve thousand effectives, three thousand sick, and two thousand non-combatants, &c. The Governor demanded thirty thousand daily rations; but in this instance and in all others, he was obliged to submit to the only law the enemy recognise in their transactions when in prosperity — "the law of the strongest." With these rations he feeds *one thousand* Russian prisoners. The cavalry rations have been reduced equally to seventeen hundred, but the enemy's horses are allowed to feed now on the neutral ground with the Cossack horses. It does not appear that any scarcity has as yet been experienced in Dantzic, except that of meat, by the inhabitants. The garrison receive a quarter-of-a-pound of salt meat and as much fresh daily, so that a *third* of the fresh meat now supplied is salted and put in store. Vegetables are in great plenty and the magazines still contain a large

quantity of brandy. Fish was abundant; but at this season fish is scarce in the Vistula waters, &c., and the British gun-vessels prevent the enemy's fishing-boats from leaving the Fahr Wasser.

By the enemy's own variations as to the persons who should supply his daily rations, now allowed by the terms of the armistice, many days' supply has been lost to them; and, if the armistice should expire on the 20th, he will not have received more than five weeks' provisions, from various unavoidable causes combined with his own bad arrangements in the first instance.

A dispute arose whether "the enceinte of the place" was to be defined the mere body of the fortress, or to include the detached works. The question is referred to the Commissioners. If an answer arrives favourable to the enemy's pretensions, much valuable ground and various works must be relinquished by the Russians.

The enemy's force is in very good condition, and, having above eighty field-pieces with twelve hundred good cavalry, formidable. It is believed that there are twelve thousand infantry effectives, exclusive of two battalions of Spaniards employed as pioneers; but the force is by no means adequate to the defence of the place, if regularly besieged, and menaced at the same time on the sea-line.

The hills in front of Dantzic, particularly the Hevelsberg, appear to be fortified in the strongest manner; and such is the confidence of General Rapp in their strength that he has offered to show them to the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Prussian engineer who defended

the place in the last war;* and no precautions are taken to prevent the observations of the Russian officers passing into the town.

If the armistice expires it is to be seen whether that confidence† is warranted, when a scientific mind working with Russian courage is opposed. It is to be hoped at all events that the confidence of security will not in the interval be diminished.

From various reports which I had heard, I was anxious to ascertain to what extent the enemy's sorties had been successful. I am assured that since the 5th of April ‡ there has been no advantage obtained by the enemy, and that on the last great sortie, made on the 28th of May, their loss had been very considerable without any benefit whatsoever.

Having passed over the ground of combat, I have seen proofs that the result was very disadvantageous to the enemy, who lost important ground which the Allies have retained.

I propose to proceed on my route to-morrow after seeing the Prussian landwehr, which will be inspected by General Zastrow,§ who has just promised to despatch an officer to Pillau that the magazine may be ready.

* He made an exception as to the mines, but the Prussian officer says there are none.

† For a regular siege the Duke will want the aid of more engineers. He has now but the Lieut.-Colonel and two junior officers.

‡ When the sortie was made on the Nehrung at the time the Russians had only nine thousand men altogether blockading Dantzic, and in which sortie the enemy procured one thousand eight hundred head of horned cattle.

§ Governor-general of East Prussia.

The 'Insolent,' with her convoy, is now passing with a slant wind.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBT. WILSON.

P.S. I have seen Captain Acklam, who will send a brig to Pillau, and go himself when the transports are at anchor.

No. 28.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Warsaw, 14th July, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I quitted the head-quarters of the Duke of Wurtemberg on the 12th inst., with the satisfaction of seeing His Royal Highness's health somewhat improved. The same day Captain Acklam sailed to aid the debarkation of the stores at Pillau.

At Dirschau I found a good bridge over the Vistula and examined the tête-du-pont now constructing and consisting of half-a-dozen flêches, some of them with flanks; the whole on a large scale and covering a distance from right to left of nearly two English miles.

The ground is altogether unfavourable for a tête-du-pont as the enemy can cover his advance; but the best use of the ground, bad as it is, does not appear to me to have been made.

The passage to the bridge is also through the town which the enemy can approach to fire with his shells, especially in the line of communication with the

bridge; in case of his doing so, the streets being narrow, passage would be impracticable.

At Dirschau there are magazines for the army before Dantzic; and above one hundred vessels laden with grain from Russia were lying in the river.

At Mewe on the Vistula there is a Prussian magazine for the subsistence of passing troops, and a Russian hospital containing about five hundred sick, but amongst whom is no malignant disease.

At Naumburg, Komorn, and one or two other places, are small Russian hospitals, but the whole do not contain more than twelve hundred sick.

The citadel of Graudenz is now commanded by Colonel Cazel, an officer of the black hussars but who in early life devoted his attention to the study of fortification.

The body of the place consists of three bastions and two demi-bastions. The polygons are covered by two ravelins, the exterior ravelin flanked by demi-lunes.

Towards the town is a horn-work, with a small ravelin in front.

This horn-work is connected with the body of the place; and at the extremity of the line of communication is a screen to prevent the enemy's immediate lodgment at the ravelins after the capture of the horn-work.

In the horn-work are also batteries, which take in flank and rear all approaches of the enemy against the citadel on the eastern face. There is, moreover, for the defence of this fortress, a most perfect system of mines, so that the place towards the land is as strong as a place can be which may be approached: but I think British story records various instances where

British sailors have surmounted more impediments than the engineer has thought it necessary to construct on the line of the Vistula.

Since the last war, as the enemy passed their cannon on the Vistula notwithstanding that the fortress wall is not distant more than thirty yards from the bank, a small island has been fortified and works have been thrown up on the left bank; but, as the island is low, these works must be liable to injury by floods.

The strength of the garrison amounts to three thousand men, forming six garrison battalions; but a very great majority are recruits.

The needed garrison is six thousand, and should be eight thousand as the ground is favourable for sallies.

There should be in the magazines three thousand quintals of powder, of which the mines require five hundred. There are not two thousand, as the powder borrowed for the service of the landwehr is not returned.

There is a sufficiency of cannon, and the place has supplied thirty pieces for the siege of Thorn (and which are now afloat for the siege of Modlin), without any detriment to itself.

There are provisions for only three months, but the commandant has endeavoured to keep the country for a mile round the fortress clear from all passing troops, that in a moment of necessity he may sweep in the needed supply.

His regulations and those of the Russian General are not regarded; and it would be expedient that His Imperial Majesty should station an officer with a few Cossacks to enforce compliance, under his Imperial Majesty's special order.

The political and military importance of this place to Russian as well as to Prussian interests, extends to such high objects that nothing should be left to hazard which may contribute to its security.

The commandant seems a sensible man, who will do his duty, but he must have the means. There is also a total want of money in the fortress.

As this was the last Prussian post I must here, in justice to the Prussians, remark that throughout the country the greatest zeal was perceptible not merely in words but in exertion; and that the whole of the tract through which I have passed is covered with warlike preparation and presents the interesting scene of a people resolved to break from their country the yoke of tyranny; although they and all they value as individuals may be a primary sacrifice.

At Thorn General Radetsky commands. The garrison consists of the regiment commanded by General Count Milaradowitch and the 27th Chasseurs, both in high order and not having a dozen sick; but the joint force does not amount to twelve hundred.

About one thousand peasants are at work at Thorn and its new tête-du-pont. Thorn is a very extensive place and can never be held as a fortress. It would require ten thousand men sure of being obliged to capitulate early. It has a wet ditch but the besieging force will always have the control of the water, and the works are under complete command at battering distance; an enemy can also safely approach to these elevations, notwithstanding a cavalier at each flank.

The enemy surrendered when the second parallel was finished, not having more than twelve hundred

effective men in garrison and fearful of an assault: but the works and town were but little damaged.

The tête-du-pont is an excellent work as a specimen of work, and the ground is well taken up. There are to be two bastions, and on the right a ravelin flanked with demi-lunes, but the interior space between the bridge and the works is very confined; and as the enemy can approach and place his batteries on the sand hills to the right and left, whence he can command the bridge as well as throw his shells into the ground between it and the tête-du-pont, it is particularly necessary that all corps at any time retiring on this point should for several preceding days disengage themselves of baggage, &c., so that the passage of the bridge may be made with uninterrupted order of march.

At Thorn I inquired what might be the expense of transporting ammunition, &c., from Elbing by the Vistula, and I learnt that for a vessel carrying four thousand czantners one hundred and sixty dollars must be paid.

At Plock is a boat-bridge, and the materials for a raft-bridge all ready for throwing across the Vistula. The tête-du-pont is extensive, and it may be rather called an entrenched position. A plank-bridge may be thrown across if necessary, but in another month the Vistula will be fordable in various places.

At Modlin General Passkewitch still commands with nearly two divisions of the corps of Doctorow, and is preparing for its siege. The garrison consists of near three thousand effective; there are, moreover, near two thousand sick, &c. Want of money prevented the arrival of the guns, &c., from Thorn before the armistice, or the siege would have been undertaken.

The order of His Imperial Majesty has suspended the further delivery of provisions to the garrison until reparation is made for the outrage committed by the enemy against the corps of Lutzk. Some provisions, however, were in hand and must have been paid for by the Russians if not delivered, so these have been given up to the garrison.'

Here I found General Doctorow with three regiments. He has under his command also the corps of General Ratte blockading Zamosc, which consists of about three thousand regulars and a very considerable body of unarmed and not very well composed militia, infantry, and cavalry.

The regulars of Tchernigow and Pultowa and of the garrison are to proceed with the corps of General Tolstoy to the Vistula, and the militia is to be reorganised so as to form a sufficient blockading force. The residue is to be dismissed.

General Tolstoy, with about fifty thousand men, of which there are somewhat more than ten thousand irregular cavalry, is now on march by Lublin; he will then cross the Vistula in the direction of Nowemiasto and environs, whence he will proceed to Lowicz on the Bzura river, a town belonging to Marshal Davoust, where General Beningsen proposes to form his army whilst he besieges Modlin. It has been said that Modlin will be taken in six days; but if the garrison does its duty with the works now added, it should at least hold out fourteen days; and to prevent the siege, according to the report of officers in Modlin, Marshal Davoust is preparing to march from Glogau.

General Tolstoy's corps is greatly in want of arms; I hear that it has not more than ten thousand muskets

altogether: it will arrive on the Vistula about twelve days hence.

Forty-two battalions of the corps of Labanow, under the order of General Bibischew, are on march from Bialystock to the neighbourhood of Modlin.

These troops are armed, but all the new troops are greatly in distress for officers.

There are some battalions which have marched through Warsaw with only two and three officers in front.

The corps of General Markow, composed of four regiments lately arrived and raised by the Duke of Richlieu, are now passing the Vistula to proceed to the Warta; where they will form—with some irregular cavalry brought up by General Phutallen—General Beningsen's advanced guard, and support the corps of General Winzingerode.

These four regiments amount to six thousand men well clothed, appointed, &c.; and are inferior to none in the Russian army in point of appearance, if I may judge of the whole from considerable portions which I have seen.

I have mentioned the army corps of Doctorow. Including the command of Generals Ratte, Markow, and the troops of Thorn, General Doctorow will have fifty-two battalions of regulars under his orders; but lest your Lordship should imagine that it is the original remnant only, I must state that this corps has been augmented by new battalions of recruits brought from Russia which now make it amount to near twenty-five thousand men well armed and clothed; although part have only recruit clothing. There are moreover thirty-two squadrons brought by General Paskow from

Mohilew (exclusive of the cuirassier squadrons marched to the grand army), which squadrons average between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and eighty men; and the general, after sending away one regiment of Cossacks to the grand army, will have five still left. There are also ten squadrons of the guards on march from Bialystock to remain with General Beningsen.

The corps has as yet only ninety pieces of cannon, and General Beningsen wishes to have two hundred and fifty, but more are on march to join.

If three weeks' further repose should be obtained, the army of the Vistula, exclusive of the corps before Dantzic, will consist of about forty-five thousand regular infantry, ten thousand armed militia, thirty thousand unarmed, and above sixteen thousand cavalry of all descriptions; making a total of sixteen thousand cavalry and eighty-five thousand infantry, with a nearly requisite complement of artillery.

Your Lordship will be able to estimate its power of service from the statement which I have given of the disadvantages under which part of its arrangements labours, and with reference to the temper of the country in which it is stationed.

The hospitals at Warsaw, still containing five thousand five hundred Russian sick and wounded after the discharge of eight hundred who will march in a day or two to the grand army, are in the very best order and regulation; and within this week hospital and other stores have been discovered by the chief physician to the value of half a million of roubles.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

R. W.

No. 29.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Reichenbach, 23rd July, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that previous to my departure from Warsaw I had the opportunity of further certifying the reports I made to your Lordship in my despatch of the date of the 17th, and of seeing various bodies of troops, which were all in efficient order.

On the route between Warsaw and Petrikau I passed no military station, but at Petrikau I found a Russian hospital with several thousand sick and wounded.

Between Petrikau and Reichenbach I overtook about two thousand convalescents on march to join the army, and between Nanislau and Brieg a considerable Russian convoy, but greatly dispersed over a tract of very deep ground.

Indeed from Widawa to Brieg the whole line of communication is extremely unfavourable for the transport of troops and stores even when the season is not so wet as this has been.

At Brieg there were some prisoners on march, and at Nimptsch thirteen thousand grenadiers under the command of General Rieski.

I must conclude this report by remarking to your Lordship that a very great change has taken place in the feelings of the Poles since the passage of the Vistula in January last. There is now an universal wish for peace; but should hostilities be renewed and the enemy approach, in that case from every intelligence

which I have been enabled to obtain—and I procured it from the best sources—co-operation would be assured them.

I have the honour to be,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 30.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Berlin, 27th June, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you with my arrival at Berlin on the 27th inst.

During the route from Reichenbach I had not many opportunities to see the troops cantoned along the Oder; but at Ohlau and Oels I passed a part of General Sacken's corps, which I understood amounted altogether to fifteen thousand men.

General Winzingerode's corps was represented to be at Frauenstadt and Lissa, but I could not ascertain its strength.

At Crossen and in the environs there were nine thousand of the corps of Bulow, and in the neighbourhood of this city the residue is collecting; and it is stated that the whole will assemble before the 20th July to the amount of between thirty and forty thousand men, including militia and a proportion of landstürm.

Such of the battalions of regulars and militia as I have seen are in very efficient order; but I am told that generally there is still a want of arms for cavalry and infantry.

General Woronzow is at Plauen. General Walmoden's command is in the Lauenburg.

There has been some misunderstanding with the enemy relative to the route of communication with Lubeck; but the points of dispute are now referred to the Commissioners.

The enemy are occupied in throwing up works at Leipzic, at Hamburg, Luckau, and other posts on this side of the Elbe. On the other hand, the Prussians are assiduously training their population, and the spirit of hostility to France rather augments than relaxes.

At Crossen an entrenched camp is forming. Works are throwing up near Charlottenburg, and very great exertions have been made in repairing by fascine-work the breach in the Citadel of Spandau which was formed by the destruction of the whole of the Queen's bastion.

The Citadel of Spandau is formed of four bastions, connected with short curtains. Two cavaliers crown the bastions on the western front.

The area of the Citadel is lined by great magazine-buildings of brick, four stories high: three sides of which square have been burnt.

The casemates, capable of containing two thousand men, are putting in order; but the gallery of communication round the Citadel has been destroyed by the explosion of the Queen's battery.

There are embrasures in the Citadel for about thirty-two pieces of cannon, and I suppose, with mortars, that there may be place for seventy pieces of artillery: but the best defence of Spandau is the difficulty of approach on account of the power of inundation and the encircling rivers; and the town itself is very much secured by water.

As there will be an inspection in a day or two of a great proportion of the Landstürm of Berlin, amounting, it is said, altogether to near thirty thousand men, I propose to remain for that object, and immediately afterwards proceed to Stettin and Colberg.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.

No. 31.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Reichenbach, 29th July, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that General Blücher having informed me of his intention to review in a few days both the corps under his command, I thought it best to await that opportunity to observe the state and ascertain the effective force of the troops. General Blucher told me that the corps of General Kleist, which has its head-quarters at Ohlau since the march of General Sacken, and the right of its outposts at Ottesheim, amounts to forty thousand men; and General Yorck, whose head-quarters are at Wansen and whose outposts extend on the left to Bettlern, has forty-two thousand men under his command.

In this estimate, artillery, nearly thirteen thousand cavalry, and non-commissioned officers are included.

In sixteen hours both corps can assemble, and did assemble for two days previous to the renewal of the armistice.

After the inspection of the cavalry yesterday in the neighbourhood of Grottkau, I proceeded to Count Langeron's head-quarters at Heinsdorff. The Count has his outposts on the right of Parchwitz, where they

communicate with General Yorck, and on the left they extend to Neudorff on the Striegau Water, where they communicate with Count Wittgenstein.

The corps under the command of Count Langeron consists of the 4th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 18th, and 22nd divisions of infantry, of the regiments of Twersky, and Kinborne Dragoons, of the regiments of Tcherigowsky, Argur, Scousk, Lifland, and Derft Light Dragoons, of the Hulans of Tchernigow and Serpoukow, which two last are, for the time of the armistice, under the orders of the Grand Duke.

The Count has, moreover, five regiments of Cossacks, with one hundred and ten pieces of cannon.

The total under arms, including non-commissioned officers and five thousand cavalry, amounts to thirty-two thousand.

This corps will be reviewed in a few days; its general state, especially the artillery, will, I think, obtain great commendation.

As it may be interesting to your Lordship to know the dislocations of the divisions of the Russian army, I subjoin it, and will, in a few days, add the dislocation of the cavalry.

Grand Duke ..	Guards and Two Div. Grenadiers.
Wittgenstein	3, 4, 5, 11, 14, 17 Div.
Langeron	7, 8, 9, 15, 18, 22 Div.
Sacken	10, 16, 27 Div.
Winzingerode	21, 24 Div.
Duke of Wurtemberg ..	6, 25 Div.
Doctorow	12, 26, 13 Div.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.

R. W.

The Russian force consists of thirty divisions: the remaining five are in Siberia, Iceland, and Oranienburg, &c., &c.

No. 32.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Töplitz, 30th August, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that yesterday morning Count Osterman, who had been obliged on the previous day twice to force his passage through the enemy lodged in his route of march, was attacked at 4 o'clock A.M. by near forty thousand of the enemy under the command of Marshal Victor and General Vandamme. Count Osterman fell back as far as the village of Culm, where he took post with his left appuyed upon the wood-covered mountains and his right thrown upon a plain skirted at some distance by a light wood that advanced forward as far as the village of Korbuctz, where open country again extended to the mountains upon the right.

The line favourable for the operations of the enemy could not be less than two English miles. Count Osterman had but eight thousand men; but the greater part consisted of the Imperial Guards, whose heroic exertions were further excited by the idea that his Imperial Majesty was still in the mountains and might wish to debouch by the pass of Eichswalde, a werst in rear of the left.

The enemy made the most strenuous efforts to force the left, but was constantly repulsed by charges with the bayonet whenever he attempted to cross some

partial open ground. About midday he made an attempt with two columns of infantry to force the centre; when the lancers of the guard and dragoons of the guard charged through garden-ground and over a *defilé* road, broke in upon the column, killed several hundred, and took between three and four hundred prisoners: the rest threw down their arms, and fled back upon the village.

The enemy still continued to pour fresh troops upon the left; but he was always beat back, and towards evening he was baffled in his design to turn the Russian right, and the troops which he had advanced to the village of ———* were obliged to fall back in the greatest confusion.

The action continued until dusk; but a little before sunset the division of grenadiers arrived to succour the gallant eight thousand, who had, notwithstanding the loss of one-half, continued to maintain their ground for fourteen hours.

The annals of Russian military history, however illustriously grand, do not present a record of more brilliancy than the action of Culm, and your Lordship will know how to appreciate its utility to the general interest.

It was not until near night that the corps of Wittgenstein, Barclay de Tolly, and Kleist could commence to debouch from the mountains at a pass between Eichswalde and the pass whence the Austrian army also commenced at a late hour to debouch, and it will certainly require two days to extricate all that yet remain in the mountains; but with the force at present assembled there is no doubt of the position of

* Name omitted in the original.

Kraupen being retained a sufficient time. The loss of the enemy could not be less than six thousand men; that of the Russians amounts to four thousand, and, I am sorry to add, that it is greatly augmented by the wound of Count Osterman who has lost his arm and lies in danger.

The troops under the command of Count Wittgenstein, General Barclay de Tolly, and General Kleist are unable to advance on the Peterswalde road as proposed, but they have effected their movement to Töplitz with the sacrifice of some baggage.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.,

R. W.

No. 33.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Töplitz, 31st August, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that, in consequence of the check which the enemy received yesterday, Marshal Prince Schwarzenberg determined to attempt an offensive operation against him, which his advance beyond the defile of Nollendorf greatly favoured.

General Barclay de Tolly was charged with the attack. On the right of the enemy and in front of Culm the troops which so gallantly fought yesterday, but reinforced by the grenadiers, were posted. The Austrian division of Bianchi turned the village of Korbuctz and menaced the enemy's left, whilst General Kleist with his column was ordered to return from

Altenberg and gain the pass of Nollendorf, which lies at the top of a lofty mountain covered with wood, through which the road of Peterswalde runs and by which the enemy would be obliged to retreat.

The firing in the wood commenced early in the morning, but the attack on the enemy's left was not made before 10 o'clock, when the Austrian columns rapidly advanced, drove back his batteries, and carried several heights in the most gallant manner with great carnage. The Russian and Austrian cavalry assisted this operation, and connected the infantry with General Barclay's corps.

The fire of General Kleist behind the enemy was soon heard after the left was turned; but the enemy continued to make a stout resistance until the Russians on his right advanced in a very intrepid manner, carrying the height which was the citadel of his position. The retreat now became apparent when the Russian and Austrian cavalry broke in on the flank of the retiring columns and completed the rout of the enemy; whose cavalry nevertheless, with some infantry, I am sorry to say, succeeded in forcing a passage through the Prussians unprepared for this effort; throwing them into disorder and possessing themselves momentarily of all their cannon in column of march descending the mountain. These cannon, however, with above forty pieces of the enemy, a great quantity of powder-waggons, &c., were recovered. The details of the enemy's loss cannot yet be given to the full extent, as the pursuit is continuing on the route of Peterswalde beyond Nollendorf; but already above four thousand prisoners are brought in, and amongst them General Vandamme,

General Dumonçeau, and the son of the Elector of Hesse* taken by my aide-de-camp, Captain Charles; and the killed and wounded on the field cannot be less than several thousand. Several trophies are also taken.

It is with much regret that I have to state to your Lordship that Sir Charles Stewart was wounded by the splinter of a shell in the thigh; but, although he suffers pain, I have every reason to hope there is no dangerous consequence to be apprehended.

This accident to an officer so eminently useful on every occasion, and who has gained the highest consideration in all the allied armies, excited universal regret.

I have more pleasure in the execution of another duty, which is to represent to your Lordship the conspicuous zeal and meritorious service throughout the day of Colonel Cooke, the Hon. Captain Dawson, and Captain Charles.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.

It appears from the report of the prisoners that eight thousand fresh troops joined the enemy last night.

No. 34.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Leitmeritz, 10th September, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I arrived at Leitmeritz last night, when I learnt that Prince Schwarzenberg had sent orders for the return of his

* The Prince of Reuss was also found among the killed.

staff, as the intelligence which rendered the further prosecution of the movement doubtful when I quitted Töplitz had been confirmed. The troops, however, had effected their second day's march on the very worst roads of Bohemia and in the worst weather.

The Marquis de Chastellar being the Governor of Theresienstadt, I was enabled this day to see the fortress (which lies within an English mile and a half of this town) under his Excellency's guidance.

The fort of Theresienstadt is distant from the Elbe about cannonshot. The original fortified enceinte consisted of the fort, a very extensive entrenched communication,* and the body of the place.

The fort is separated from the entrenchment by the old bed of the river Eger, and the entrenchment from the *corps du place* by the newly-excavated bed of the same river.

To assure the passage of the Elbe and give a more strategical importance to the fortress, a tête-du-pont capable of containing two thousand men has been thrown up on the left bank of the Elbe since the war commenced, and when completed—which it will be in a few days—will be a work that, from its strength must be regularly attacked, and from its judicious position will be long tenable.

The bridge is laid on piles. An island on its left is fortified, and several batteries and one very strong flèche are constructing in the ground between Theresienstadt and the Elbe.

The fort, entrenchment, and the *corps du place* are encircled by thirteen bastions, with regular outworks of lunettes, ravelins, &c., by ramparts thirty feet

* Capable of holding sixty squadrons, but now used as garden-ground or the garrison, forage-magazines, &c.—R. W.

high, by double ditches one hundred and twenty feet wide and eighteen feet deep, and on the western front of the *corps du place*, which alone is not covered by inundation, additional defences of counterguards, bastions re-entrenched, &c., are opposed.

The inundation on the three faces of the whole enceinte can be rendered from ten to twelve feet deep, and this inundation is not liable to be drawn off by the enemy.

Two stages of mines protect the *corps du place*, and all the works have more or less subterranean defence.

There are three hundred pieces of cannon in the place and works—of which eighty, each, are twelve-pounders, eighteen-pounders, and twentyfour-pounders, and sixty howitzers and mortars—each piece having one thousand rounds of ammunition. The whole artillery establishment is indeed in the very best order.

Most of the buildings are bomb-proof, and there are casemates for ten thousand men.

The present garrison consists of fifteen thousand; six battalions of which are landwehr, but well clothed and very efficient troops.

As the original works present a circumference of two thousand six hundred toises, and with the new tête-du-pont one thousand four hundred more toises are added, this force is not more than sufficient.

I have the honour to be,

&c., &c., &c.

R. W.

11th September.

The Austrian army has just received orders to counter-march, and return by forced marches to the environs of Töplitz.

The movement will be made over Lobositz, Ratzein, and Modlau. Count Colloredo's and General Merfeldt's corps will not reach Töplitz before the 13th.

No. 35.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Marienberg, 6th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I this morning went to Chemnitz. I found General Kleinau there. The advanced posts were on the Flöhe river. The enemy were opposite and tranquil; but on the right of the posts General Murray, who was detached from General Giulai at Zschopau, had been engaged with the corps of Marshal Victor, dislodged from the river, and obliged to fall back to Augustenberg. In the evening General Giulai sent them some succour, when the progress of the enemy was arrested.

General Kleinau has orders to retire upon Zwickau when he is obliged to leave Chemnitz, which is not tenable. The enemy being enabled to enter the route between Chemnitz and Marienberg at several points from the posts they now occupy on the Flöhe, and the defile at Zschopau being of the most formidable character, a retreat upon Marienberg would be almost impracticable.

It is, however, the Marshal's intention, if no new circumstance occurs during the night to influence a change, not to permit the enemy to remain on this side the Flöhe but to attack him to-morrow morning with force. The corps of Merfeldt is ordered to support that of Giulai in this operation.

This measure is the more necessary as there is a road now open to the enemy upon Rassberg between Commotau and Marienberg.

General Kleinau having in the morning patrolled towards Penig, the enemy retired on his approach losing only eight or ten men.

General Wittgenstein this morning detached Count Pahlen with four battalions and some cavalry to Altenberg, and proposed to follow with his corps, exclusive of General Kleist, who was to be left in reserve at Zwickau. It was supposed that the corps of Poniatowski alone occupied Altenberg.

Lauriston, Victor and Murat are on the Flöhe and at Freyberg.

Marmont's corps is at Leipzic. Buonaparte and his guards were at Dresden yesterday.

No accounts could be collected of any operations of the Allies upon the Elbe.

I have just returned from Chemnitz (where the Prince Marshal went himself on horseback) with the view of instituting some inquiries respecting one of my best horses and other property there lost yesterday, and which I cannot afford to neglect; but I shall be to-morrow wherever anything is going on so as to be enabled to report to your Lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c.

No. 36.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Marienberg, 7th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I have just returned from the advance of General Giulai's

advance on the right, and which I found at Marbach. The enemy still occupy Augustenburg and, as I was entering Schellenberg, endeavoured to cut me off; but I perceived their movement and withdrew in time.

To-morrow, the Prince Marshal, who has this day been again examining all the posts with indefatigable activity, has determined to execute his proposed movement against the troops on this side of the Flöhe river and will push as much as possible, since he has received advice of the actual passage of the Elbe by General Blucher, on the 3rd instant. No reports have yet been received from Count Wittgenstein or General Kleinau, but a cannonade was heard during the morning in the direction of Penig.

The troops in the neighbourhood of this place have advanced, and the Grand Duke is to leave his headquarters to-morrow; but General Giulai, in consequence of the town of Zschopau lying in one of the most difficult defiles in Saxony, has withdrawn on this side and placed his quarters between Zschopau and Marienberg.

The Austrians lost in yesterday's affair several hundred men, but the infantry retired in masses before the cavalry with great steadiness.

I am happy to add that the troops are well fed and that all now are in efficient order as to clothing and equipment, but they are beginning to be a little sickly from the extreme rudeness of the weather.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

Robt. Wilson.

No. 37.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Chemnitz, 9th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that this morning General Kleinau attacked and dislodged the enemy from Penig. About three thousand Polish horse and as many infantry occupied it. The rest of the corps was at Rochlitz.

General Wittgenstein has occupied Altenberg and moved on Borna.

General Granville has his posts at Frankenberg; General Knoring is at Freyberg; Count Colloredo is ordered to move by Freyberg, from General Beningsen, to join Prince Schwarzenberg at Chemnitz.

General Thielmann and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein are marching upon Jena, Dornburg, and Camburg, to harass Marshal Augereau's corps, which was to reach Leipzic this day.

General Platow connects this detachment with General Wittgenstein, and as the enemy seems drawing together his forces in the neighbourhood of Eulenburg, all the corps will approach so as to afford mutual aid; but the Marshal does not propose to give or accept a general battle unless the Prince Royal and General Blucher have been enabled to resist the attack which, it is presumed, was made upon them yesterday, and which the prisoners made this day pretend has already ended unfavourably to the Swedes; but it is not very probable that the result should have been known this morning at so great a distance.

It is certain, however, that the enemy show no dis-

position to retreat. All their movements are concentrative, and calculated upon a rapid resumption of the offensive.

No report has been received from General Beningsen, but Count Bubna writes that Marshal M'Donald has withdrawn to the left bank of the Elbe.

My aide-de-camp, Captain Charles, this day had a contest with a Polish lancer and cut him severely; he surrendered on a hussar coming up. Captain Charles then made, by himself, an infantry man with his musket in his hand, prisoner, after some resistance.

As General Kleinau has his quarters at a single house on this side Penig, I returned here and found his Majesty the Emperor of Russia.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

R. W.

No. 38.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Chemnitz, 9th October, 1813, 7 o'clock, A.M.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the troops were put in movement yesterday against Augustenburg, but Marshal Murat, with six thousand men, retired during the night. The enemy took the direction of Mittweida and Frankenburg. General Kleinau's advanced guard passed the Flöhe, made some prisoners, and took five powder-waggons.

General Kleinau, in the evening, marched towards Penig, and General Wittgenstein received orders to march this day on Frohburg and Rochlitz.

Generals Merfeldt and Giulai are stationed in the environs of Chemnitz, and the Austrian reserve is at Zschopau.

There has just commenced a heavy cannonade in the direction of Penig, and I am going there immediately.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

R. W.

No. 39.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Penig, 10th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that Count Platow has occupied Pegau. Count Wittgenstein had possession of Borna with his advanced guard last night and this morning, but writes that his posts were attacked in force, and intimates the possibility of retreat. General Kleinau has his head-quarters at Langelieber, and posted his advance at Frohburg and Rochlitz, from which latter place Marshal Murat retired this morning. General Granville connects the right of this line with Freyburg; and Prince Schwarzenberg estimates the force which is now manœuvring upon it at about sixty thousand men. Head-quarters are to be to-morrow at Altenberg, if no extraordinary incident occurs to change the disposition. Yesterday evening a very heavy cannonade was heard in the direction of Strehla: it continued during the night and part of this forenoon. This morning the cannonade opened on the side of Borna, ceased about mid-day, but recommenced this evening with great violence.

On the 8th, the Crown Prince had his head-quarters at Radegast. The same day, General Blucher is stated to have been at Düben, and Buonaparte at Wurzen, continuing, according to an intercepted letter, his movement.

In another intercepted letter from Marshal Murat to his wife it is remarked—after an exaggeration of the number of prisoners made at Augustenberg to one thousand, whereas the total loss, including many wounded, did not exceed five hundred—"It appears that the Allies are moving from their fastnesses and descending into the plains of Saxony. This the Emperor has wished for a long time."

I note this to your Lordship, as it certainly proves that the present movement, before General Blucher's passage of the Elbe and General Beningsen's arrival, would have been a measure very agreeable to the enemy.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBT. WILSON,

Major-General.

The enemy attacked Count Pahlen last night at Borna, and were repulsed with the loss of several hundred men.

No. 40.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Altenberg, 11th October, 1813.

A report was this morning received from Prince Maurice Lichtenstein, dated Zeitz, October 10th. It

appears that the Prince had taken post at Stossen with his corps and General Thielmann's, but advanced a portion to Wilna on the route of Naumburg with the intent of checking the march of General Augereau's column, consisting of six thousand horse and ten thousand infantry. The enemy, moving towards Weissenfels, were obliged to force their progress, and succeeded after much loss, as fourteen guns played upon them advantageously for some time.

Whilst the main body and a considerable convoy of provisions filed along the route thus gained, a detachment of the enemy attacked the post at Stossen, dislodged the Allies, and pressed them to Meuselwitz where the action ceased.

The officer who came with the despatches assures me that, with the exception of some confusion occasioned by the resemblance of dress between a Prussian and French regiment of hussars, the whole retrograde movement was made in the most perfect échellon order; but Prince Maurice estimates his loss at five hundred men. The enemy's cavalry, composed of four thousand men from Spain and two thousand of those whom General Platow had dislodged from Altenberg, are reported to be in good order and their conduct very gallant.

The Marshal has ordered Prince Maurice to send a detachment to Weimar for intelligence, &c.

General Wittgenstein is at Borna. General Kleinau still occupies Frohburg and Rochlitz, and has instructions to draw the enemy on if possible.

General Granville has marched to Altenberg. General Baumgarten, of General Kleinau's corps, therefore now communicates direct with General Knoring,

whose advanced parties have occupied Nossen, where one thousand French were who fell back on Dresden.

General Beningsen, it is hoped, will be on this side of Dresden this day. The fifteen thousand men who opposed his march have joined the eight thousand already in the city, and who still occupy the Neustadt.

The town bridge has not been destroyed as said, but only a temporary side bridge.

General Bubna writes that he has succeeded in taking the bridge of Pirna, which the enemy were floating down the Elbe, so that he may now pass, as ordered, with General Tcherbatow's corps.

Prince Schwarzenberg will determine this day, from the intelligence he receives, whether his line of operation shall be thrown on the Naumburg or Gera routes. To-morrow must be occupied in executing the disposition.

The Burgomaster of Rochlitz reports that on the 9th Marshal Murat passed through there with thirty-two thousand men, so that this force, added to the portion of Prince Poniatowski's corps which defended Penig and General Augereau's, probably forms the residue opposed to the Allies on this side of Leipsic.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBT. WILSON.

Major-General.

P.S. By an intercepted return of the 4th corps (Lauriston's) it appears that it has sixteen thousand sick and wounded in the hospitals, five thousand prisoners and thirteen thousand effectives now on march.

No. 41.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Altenberg, 11th October, 1813.

An officer has arrived from the Crown Prince, whom he left yesterday at Radegast. He brought only a verbal communication of Düben having been occupied by the enemy, and of General Blucher having fallen back to his tête-du-pont; but he was instructed to say that the Crown Prince would nevertheless advance to Halle and Merseburg. This information is, however, to be very cautiously received as the real voluntary intent of the Crown Prince; since he moreover told the officer that the Prince Marshal's head-quarters would be found, as he thought, not further advanced than Marienburg.

It is probable that the officer was principally sent to ascertain where the Marshal actually was, and to report the retreat of General Blucher.

Two other officers were despatched at the same time, one by Naumburg, and the other upon the left of Leipzic; but as they have not been heard of, some fears are entertained for their safety.

The officer, on passing Pegau, was told to make haste out of the town as the enemy were about to enter.

Buonaparte has his head-quarters at Taucha.

The corps of Giulai is to join to-morrow Prince Maurice Lichtenstein's, General Wensdorff's and General Thielmann's, at Zeitz; and a detachment will attempt to occupy Naumburg.

General Wittgenstein and General Kleinau remain

to-morrow in their present position if the enemy permit.

The routes of Zwickau and Gera are to be the lines of communication on Hof, &c.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's, &c.,

R. W.

No. 42.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Altenberg, 12th October, 1813.

I this morning went to General Wittgenstein at Borna, and proceeded from thence to Count Pahlen whose advanced guard I found at Espenheim: the enemy (who had retired during the night from Eylau) were in position at Grübern, Gossa, and Sturmthal.

The enemy's force, which had fallen back, was computed at between thirty and forty thousand men. The outposts skirmished, but no serious operation was attempted on either side.

To-morrow morning Count Wittgenstein will make a *reconnaissance forcée*, which I shall attend; and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein will march upon Naumburg with a strong detachment.

A heavy cannonade was heard during the day in the direction of Halle, but no account has been received from the Crown Prince or General Blucher.

General Knoring is to join General Wittgenstein. Count Colloredo was to reach Freyburg this day; and General Beningsen was yesterday before Dresden, in which city he states there was a very large force collected, but the officer charged with the written report is not arrived.

Count Bubna has passed the Elbe.

The dislocation of the army, this day, is as follows:—

1st Light Division, Pegau.

2nd ditto before the Neustadt, Dresden.

1st division of the army on march from Maxen over Freyburg, to Chemnitz.

2nd Light Division, Zeitz.

3rd Altenberg and its Light Brigade is detached to Luckau.

4th Division of the army, Frohburg, and has posts at Shöne, Geithayn, and Rochlitz.

Reserve, Altenberg.

Wittgenstein and Kleist, Borna.

Grenadiers, Cuirassiers, and Guards, Altenberg.

General Knorring on march to General Wittgenstein with a detached corps.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) R. W.

I congratulate your Lordship on the accession of Bavaria to the coalition, and of the French army of Italy having fallen back behind the Isonzo.

I should have waited myself upon your Lordship, but I am so wet through and chilled that I am not quite well.

No. 43.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Altenberg, 14th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the reconnaissance which was ordered for yesterday did not

take place, as the time was miscalculated which the march of General Kleinau would require, and Count Wittgenstein, who was charged with the details, had directed his own attack not to begin until General Kleinau's cannon was heard.

This morning the Prince Marshal ordered Count Wittgenstein to begin his reconnaissance at an early hour. The enemy on his advance left Grübern, where he had traced some works. Gossa was a little disputed, but, on the advance of the Russian infantry, abandoned.

The cavalry under the Count Pahlen charged the enemy's cavalry in the open ground between Gossa and Libertwolkowitz, and several attacks were mutually made with equal success and loss before an order came from the Prince Marshal to cease the action, if it was not too far engaged. As it had not commenced above 20 minutes, Count Wittgenstein checked the advance of the infantry; but the Allied commanders gave and sustained some other charges before the enemy withdrew and converted their defensive into a brisk cannonade, which lasted about an hour and then ceased on all points; General Kleinau, who was at Naunhof with his right, having received orders also to desist.

The enemy kept the ground in front of Wachau, the Allies that which they had gained in front of Gossa and the village of Libertwolkowitz, in which General Kleinau posted two battalions.

The loss of the Allied cavalry did not exceed two hundred men: more than that number of prisoners were made from the enemy and many horses were taken.

The cavalry, which was headed by Murat in person,

was in very fine condition, amounting to nearly four thousand men, of which a great proportion came from Spain. The horses were in very good order; and the squadrons, by acting in masses, never could be broken.

It will be necessary for the Allies to attend to this formation and at least keep some reserves in close column, or there will be much confusion in the day of battle. The East Prussian Cuirassiers and the regiments of Hohenzollern and O'Reilly particularly distinguished themselves amongst the Allies and brought opportune succour to the Russian cavalry, whose courage was always conspicuous but who were much broken when falling back.

The Prince Marshal had wished to suspend the reconnaissance, as Count Golz had come from General Blucher with intelligence which rendered it expedient to attack the enemy with combined forces. This attack would have been made to-morrow, but General Blucher cannot be ready until the day after.

General Blucher was yesterday at Halle. The Crown Prince had marched to Cothen with the intention, as he declared, of passing the Elbe, at Acken; notwithstanding the remonstrances of General Blucher and, as I am told, of all the persons about him, amongst whom is Sir Charles Stewart, of whose arrival perhaps your Lordship may not have heard.

Buonaparte, for his own person, is said to be at Wittemberg, or rather to have been there the day before yesterday.

I cannot pretend to know the enemy's designs, but I am inclined to think that he wishes the Allies to approach nearer Leipzic.

The cavalry attacks of this day were incidental, but

he kept his infantry (St. Cyr's corps) always at a great distance, and only advanced his guns when he saw that the Allies did not press.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's

Most obedient and humble servant,

R. W.

No. 44.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Jena, 23rd October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the enemy continues his retreat on Erfurth, by Buttelstadt and Ottendorf, and Buonaparte is said to have reached Erfürth at three o'clock this morning. The troops form behind the city. In the march from the Unstrut the enemy left fifteen guns and blew up three hundred powder-waggons.

General Barclay de Tolly continues on the Buttelstadt route. General Blucher is in Gross Neuhausen; General Langeron in Vippach; General Sacken in Zeubiethau; and General Yorck in Somerda.

General Bubna is in advance of Weimar.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

Robt. Wilson, Major-General.

No. 45.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Gotha, 27th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I arrived here this day, and found General Wittgenstein and

Kleist, who are now ordered to commence operations against Erfurth, the Prince Marshal having appropriated two eighteen-pound batteries to the siege. It is said that three thousand men form the garrison of Erfurth and of the forts S. Petersburg and Cyriasberg.

General Blucher was yesterday evening in the environs of Eisenach, and is reported to have had a successful affair with the rear-guard of the enemy.

The enemy's direction after quitting Eisenach is not yet ascertained; but I think, if he falls back to the Rhine, that he will probably prefer the route of Wetzlar and Coblentz, as the army under General Wrede opposes his march on Frankfort, and various detachments occupy the line of Cassel; he must, however, endeavour as soon as possible to establish his communications with the lower Elbe, and, therefore, he may force in the direction of Cassel with a portion of the army.

It appears to me that unless he is very destitute of means, he will reinforce Marshal Davoust so as to form a sufficient corps upon that point to menace Prussia and Denmark and intersect the Crown Prince's communications, and consequently oblige a great detachment of the Allied force; thus endeavouring to gain time for the reorganization and augmentation of the troops covering or defending the Rhine.

I have endeavoured to get the most accurate information here. The average of the estimates of the enemy's force is ninety thousand men. The column filed round the town in uninterrupted march sixty-four hours. Buonaparte himself passed twenty-four hours at an inn and saw the Duke of Gotha there, who describes him to have been far from depressed in spirits.

The sick and wounded only come into the town.

There seems to be a great mortality from dysentery in the enemy's army: a considerable number of dying and dead lay on the line of march.

The extreme badness of the cross-roads on which the Austrian column has marched favoured the enemy, with whom it is scarcely possible now to close.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,
Robert Wilson, Major-General.

I have been enabled to obtain a more accurate report of the state of Erfürth, by which it appears there are four thousand men in garrison and three thousand sick, with a great supply of armament and provisions. There are also casemates for the troops. Count Wittgenstein hopes to cut the water off from the town; but the artillery officer charged with the siege assures me it will be one of long duration from the want of sufficient means.

No. 46.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Tambach, 28th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that General Wrede had occupied the town of Würzburg on the 26th, and proposed to be this day at Aschaffenburg with his advance-guard.

The enemy, it is now said, moves at least a great portion of his force direct on Frankfort. The head of his column, commanded by Marshal Ney, was attacked

near Fulda by Colonel Mensdorf, who ably posted and gallantly led seven hundred horse. Four pieces of cannon, one hundred and sixty prisoners, a rich booty, and a great dispersion of the enemy, was the result of this enterprise.

Another Austrian officer from General Wrede's army is in ambuscade at Bruckenau on the enemy's line of march. The Austrian army will be cantoned to-morrow between Schmalkalden and Bautfeld. No details have yet been received from General Blucher, but it is supposed he is at Vach.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

ROBT. WILSON, Major-General.

No. 47.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Schmalkalden, 30th October, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that a report has been received from General Kleinau, dated Herzogswalde, the 27th, by which it appears that the report of the enemy's evacuation of Dresden at the time previously stated was erroneous: on the contrary, the troops which were in Meissen have retired on Dresden.

General Chastellar has ordered more troops to march from Theresienstadt to blockade the Neustadt, and proposes to besiege the old-town immediately if the enemy remain, which the Prince Marshal thinks impossible.

General S. Priest is ordered to Cassel, and General Blucher, who had taken the route of Fulda, is directed to move on Wetzlar.

In his late affair with the enemy's rear-guard, the corps of Yorck lost ten officers and five hundred and twenty men, but Count Langeron made near two thousand prisoners.

General Wrede has left only one brigade to blockade the citadel of Würzburg.

The enemy are still reported to be moving with their principal force on Frankfort, where the Austrian column will arrive on the 7th November; but for two more days' march the roads are said to be as bad as those which we have passed.

Buonaparte is himself marching with ten thousand body-guards.

According to private intelligence, the public stores are already moving from Frankfort. Mayence, on the 29th, had but two thousand men in garrison; in Hanau there were but three thousand new troops; and Strasburg and Landau were quite destitute of provisions.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,
Robt. Wilson, Major-General.

No. 48.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Hunfeld, 1st November, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that on the 29th General Wrede took Warsaw after a feeble resistance and made the garrison prisoners.

On the 30th he had taken post on the right bank of the Kinzig, when he was attacked by the retiring army

commanded by Buonaparte in person. The battle commenced at daybreak and lasted until midday without interruption; there was then a repose of two hours when the action recommenced and lasted till ten at night.

The enemy attempted to take a bridge on the Kinzig, succeeded twice, but were repulsed finally the third time by General Fresnel, at the head of an Hungarian battalion; General Wrede, however, in consequence of the enemy's superiority and a want of ammunition for his guns, found himself obliged to retire behind the Kinzig, but kept a garrison in Hanau.

The next morning the enemy recommenced the attack with the view, it is supposed, of forcing the Kinzig and turning Hanau, but the event of the day is not known.

General Wrede's army had taken post on the 30th in very narrow ground, consequently the whole army was under fire, and the loss is stated to be great—ten thousand at the lowest computation.

In the evening the cavalry were chiefly engaged. The enemy's cavalry obliged the Bavarian guns to withdraw, and then charged the supporting cavalry with some success. An Austrian regiment of Cuirassiers and three Bavarian regiments gave way at the first onset.

General Blucher, by following General Bertrand instead of the main army, was at the distance of two days' march from the enemy on the 30th.

A courier had been taken coming from Paris. His despatches which I have read are most interesting.

The first papers contain letters from Marshals Soult and Suchet, &c. The former states that on the 7th

October the left of his position was attacked and forced; he was therefore obliged to give up the line of the Bidassoa: but his loss is not rated at above four hundred men killed and wounded. Lord Wellington, on the 16th October, had made no further progress, but had issued a proclamation advising the army of his intention to take up his winter-quarters in France.

Marshal Soult gives a minute detail of his own situation, states that errors had been committed by his generals on the 7th October—who acknowledge them in their own letters—but that his position had been naturally bad considering the great superiority of the Allies, and that his army had been enfeebled from want of confidence.* He then adds that his present position is now considered by his generals as impregnable, and that the spirit of his troops is again restored. He expects a general battle, and excuses himself against Buonaparte's expressed displeasure at his inactivity by this expectation, which he thinks also is an event to be preferred to partial engagement. He concludes by complaining of the total want of funds to procure the necessary supplies, and prevent the licentiousness of his troops, and by a request for his removal.

The governor of Bayonne makes communications which show that the public spirit is greatly alarmed, but states that the hope of negotiation has improved it.

Marshal Suchet writes that he is about to act offensively. The plan proposed is to leave a disposable force of five thousand men in Upper Catalonia to support the fortresses and preserve the communications

* It seems that the position was not chosen by the Marshal, but selected by the Government to protect the French territory.—R. W.

with France, while fifty thousand pursue operations in Arragon. The new conscripts of the levy for the reinforcement of Marshals Soult and Suchet's armies have already joined.

From Paris there is notice of our intention to attack Antwerp,* and the Minister of War seems very uneasy about Venice. There is want of garrison, money, and goodwill in the people. The conscription of above a hundred and twenty thousand men is already in great progress. The guards are to receive twenty thousand, the artillery five thousand, the engineers one thousand, and the infantry ninety-four thousand. There is no mention made of cavalry, but in another letter it appears that Denmark has sent five thousand horses to France.

There are reports of the state of Strasburg and the fortresses on the Rhine. The whole seem to require supplies, but are not to be carried by a *coup de main.*

Marshal Kellerman has ordered the bridge near Manheim to be brought to the left bank of the Rhine, "*par vive force*" if necessary.

The whole complexion of the correspondence is very unfavourable to Buonaparte. It describes great exterior pressure and interior uneasiness,† but declares that the people are willing still to make great sacrifices for the protection of France.

The Swiss Landamman urges strongly the evacuation of the Tessin, and the return of the Swiss troops,

* Communicated by a mercantile house in London to their correspondent at Paris.

† The public spirit in Italy, and particularly at Milan, is stated to be hostile. Switzerland seems also rather more anxious for war than neutrality. —R. W.

to maintain the neutrality which Buonaparte has sanctioned.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT WILSON.

It may be expedient to note that the enemy in their report upon Spain calculate much upon the civil dissensions which are augmenting there; and in the military report they mention that Gerona cannot be considered *à l'abri d'un coup de main.*

No. 49.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

Fulda, 2nd November, 1813,
7 o'clock, A.M.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint you that a courier is this moment arrived from General Fresnel who brings the following advice:—

The enemy cannonaded the city of Hanau the whole night of the 30th, while his columns filed round the town. At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 31st he forced the town. At 2 o'clock P.M. General Wrede, at the head of a column, advanced to retake the town. The general was mortally wounded in the body as he approached, but the troops persevered and carried Hanau, which they still held at the time the courier was despatched: this occurred late in the evening, but the suburbs were in flames.

General Fresnel writes that General Sulkowsky and General Sabuclow—who came over during the battle—and the collective statements of all the prisoners, esti-

mate the enemy's force at eighty thousand men. General Martin cannonaded the rear-guard which had not yet passed Hanau, and which General Fresnel proposes to attack with as much vigour as possible, but he does not seem to have yet obtained any supply of ammunition.

General Orloff Denizoff and General Platow were, however, following Marshal Mortier (and had already made many prisoners), so they would assist General Fresnel's operations.

General Fresnel states that in the course of forty-eight hours he had made five thousand prisoners, but acknowledges his own loss to have been very considerable. The fatal wound of General Wrede is, however, the cause of deepest regret and on every account is to be deplored.

A Bavarian division, which had marched on Saxenhausen direct from Aschaffenburg, was supposed to be engaging the enemy en route to Frankfort, as a cannonade was heard in that direction.

General Wittgenstein has orders to advance by Freyberg, and join the grand army. General Blucher marches upon Wetzlar, and the general writes that "the Crown Prince is advancing upon Cassel under the protection of General S. Priest."

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT WILSON, Major-General.

Italy, from the enemy's statement of the public spirit which prevails there, &c., and Holland from the want of sufficient means to defend it, seem now to be

the most favourable points for the allied operations. If your Lordship reads the intercepted letters, I think you will be of the same opinion.

R. W.

No. 50.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Frankfort, 4th November, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you with my arrival here this day. The enemy have fallen back leisurely on Hochheim, which is fortified. From all I can collect, one hundred thousand men (including preceding stragglers and the sick and wounded) have passed the Nidda. Marshal Kellerman's and General Alix's divisions are not comprised in this estimate.

On passing Hanau I had opportunity to reconnoitre the field of battle and correct some misrepresentations in my former report.

It appears that the worst possible disposition was made to oppose the progress of the enemy.

The natural favouring locality was entirely neglected; the strong post which the town itself, covered by the Kinzig, presented was not occupied as it ought to have been; but cavalry and infantry were huddled together in a contracted space where they were unable to manœuvre but exposed to the impossibly erring fire of the enemy. The consequence was a great slaughter of the Allies and very little injury to their adversaries. At the same time it must be admitted that the French cavalry debouched, deployed, and charged with a steadiness, adroitness, and courage that excite admiration in those they discomfited, and must obtain praise from

all who examine the ground and know the particulars of the difficulties they had to encounter.

I mentioned in my first report to your Lordship that the battery of the centre, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, was removed about midday from want of ammunition; but the real fact is that the charge of the enemy's cavalry obliged them to withdraw.

The Allies the next morning quitted the town; but the enemy had been filing the whole night along the high road, which was within half pistol-shot of the houses and a species of fortified gateway. It is almost incredible how a column could have passed—for there is no shelter along the road—but the column did pass with impunity. Very few of the enemy entered the town after the Allies had quitted it, and General Wrede was wounded by a ball from a house in the faubourg occupied by a small detachment of Italians. There was no force to resist a storm.

The road from Hanau, instead of presenting the scene of dead and dying sick which the whole previous route had done, was comparatively free even from dead horses. There was not the smallest trace of a harassed march; and on the whole road we have passed, except the sick incapable of movement, not above four hundred prisoners have been conducted—and many of them inefficient men.

I mention these facts to your Lordship that you may have a knowledge of the real truth, as far as I have been enabled to observe; and I shall conclude by remarking that I considered the passage of the enemy's ghosts at Krasnoi as the most extraordinary incident I had ever witnessed; but the position of Hanau was so favourable for the object of the Allies that I must re-

gard the enemy's successful operations here as no less extraordinary.

In the former case, indeed, annihilation was inevitable: in the latter case wreck and dispersion ought to have been assured.

We have only the consolation of knowing that although the loss of the Allies was very great, particularly that of the Bavarians, on the whole they fought with great resolution; and the incidents of the day seem to have augmented mutual regard.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT WILSON.

I am sorry to say that the light detachments have been committing through the country the greatest disorders: the complaints not only come from the inhabitants, but from officers themselves employed on these services as well as those who followed their track.

No. 51.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Frankfort, 10th November, 1813.

I have the honour to acquaint you that the corps of Count Giulai and General Merfeldt with the Austrian reserve cavalry, yesterday moved to dislodge the enemy from Hochheim, which town and position it was understood he was fortifying.

Count Giulai marched upon the chaussée from Höchst. General Merfeldt's corps, commanded by Prince Louis Lichtenstein, was directed on the Don-

ner Mühl, between Höchst and Cassel. The attack commenced about 2 o'clock P.M. The enemy fired vigorously from his cannon at Höchst and from six pieces of cannon in a work which headed the column of Prince Louis, and threw many shells from their mortars at Cassel.

The Austrian artillery, however, advanced with so much courage and rapidity that the enemy's fire was soon slackened; when the columns of infantry pushed forwards and carried the entrenchments and town, which was surrounded by a high wall and double palisaded at the entrances.

The entrenchments had not been completed, but were framed on a considerable scale.

Four pieces of cannon were taken, and the commander of the town, the aide-de-camp of General Guilleminot, various officers, and several hundred men were made prisoners. The prisoners were with difficulty saved from the fury of the inhabitants.

The remainder of the enemy (the corps of General Bertrand) retreated upon Costheim and Cassel, and, occupying the intervening wooded ground, maintained for the rest of the day a sharp tirailleur fire; but in this they must have suffered much, as the Austrian cannon played on them from the height above their position and other guns on the left bank of the Main threw their fire in flank.

The Austrian loss is not considerable, but several officers are much regretted.

The Prince Marshal has ordered the heights above Cassel to be fortified. Until the works are completed the corps engaged yesterday will occupy the ground.

The sight of the Austrian flag again waving victo-

rious on the Rhine, and of the enemy's great military dépot whence issued those armies that have caused so much desolation and misery in Germany, excited an interest in yesterday's operations which every individual felt, and which was finally expressed by peals of enthusiastic acclamation as the Prince Marshal passed.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient humble servant,
ROBERT WILSON,
Major-General.

No. 52.

EXTRACT OF DESPATCH FROM VISCOUNT CATHCART, K.T.

(Bulletins, 1813, page 938.)

Frankfort-on-the-Main, 10th November, 1813.

I have the honour to inclose herewith the report I have this moment received of this gallant affair, from Major-General Sir Robert Wilson. It has been the constant practice of the Major-General, throughout this and the last campaign, to accompany every attack of consequence that has taken place within his reach, and on this occasion he was with one of the storming parties. In adverting to this circumstance, it is but justice to this officer to state that the zeal, activity, and intrepidity which he has displayed on every occasion have conciliated for him the esteem of all officers of every rank and nation who have been witnesses of them, and have certainly done great *credit to His Majesty's service.*

I have, &c.,
CATHCART.

The Viscount Castlereagh.

No. 53.

MR. HAMILTON TO SIR ROBERT WILSON.

MY DEAR WILSON, Foreign Office, 10th December, 1813.

I expect you to leap for joy when you open Lord Castlereagh's despatch of this date, and find your official nomination to the Austrian army which is to operate in Italy; and if not already in that quarter, you will, I am sure, lose no time in repairing thither on the execution of the service to which you are named.

The appointment cannot, I think, but be gratifying to you; and I will not allow myself to fancy that you feel the least regret at leaving what is called, I suppose, with you the grand army. At the same time Lord Castlereagh wishes me to add distinctly to you that no alternative can be admitted between your accepting this appointment or quitting the continental staff. However flattering to you the wishes of the Austrian generals for your stay among them on the Rhine, it cannot be allowed from hence that our appointments should be superseded by other persons' taste.

With respect to your *appointments*, I trust in the fat plains of Italy you will find that you have more than enough; and if you go on opening the ports of Europe to our commerce by your conquests, you will soon put the exchange in your favour, and we shall have no more complaints on that score.

As I wrote to you a few days ago, I have no more to add than that Lord Castlereagh expects he shall only hear from you or of you as accompanying or re-

porting the movements of our Allies; and neither breaking your own head against stone walls for an additional riband or a *crachat de plus*, nor sacrificing your comfort and credit at home by being the *enfant gâté* of Princes and Maréchaux de l'Empire abroad.

Yours ever,

W. Hamilton.

P.S.—I should have added above that Lord Castlereagh fully expects that you will take upon yourself the service to which you are named, at least in the first instance. Should it be disagreeable to you to remain in that post, write so to me and Lord Castlereagh will take the earliest opportunity of replacing and recalling you; but in the mean time it is absolutely necessary that we should have a military correspondent in Bellegarde's army, and that one must be you.

W. H.

No. 54.

Sir Robert Wilson to Lord Cathcart.

My Lord, Basle, 23rd December, 1813.

I have the honour to transmit a memorandum of movements already made and of others in progress.

Your Lordship will observe that a change has been made in the dislocation, as the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg now supports General Wrede, and Count Wittgenstein is charged with the blockade of Kehl.

The 18-pound brass cannon and the mortars of the Bavarians have not yet passed the Rhine, but the siege of Huningen is to commence in a few days.

The place has been neglected, and, although it is

newly palisaded, and repairs have been recently carrying on with much exertion, it is reported to be still in an imperfect state, both as to its works and stores.

The commandant, Colonel Chauzel, has the reputation of a good officer, but he is not supposed to have able or very much attached aids in the état-major of the garrison.

The night before last the enemy made a sortie and dislodged the posts from Neudorff, but with no other result than a few casualties.

The partizan corps of Colonel Scheubler was to be at Colmar this day. It had already entered Mulhausen.

I propose to join it the day after to-morrow, with an order of the Prince Marshal to receive the hundred horse with which I intend to make the expedition that I noted to your Lordship, if I find on nearer approach that the undertaking can be possibly successful. At all events I hope to make a useful sweep.

There is no enemy of which I can hear to dispute the plain. The spies say that there are thirty thousand men at Strasburg, and similar bodies at Nancy and Landau, but no one notes as yet any movement.

I should presume that the first body would assemble in the Vosges to support Belfort, &c., unless an operation of more character is proposed on the side of Kehl.

The French inhabitants are greatly alarmed, but make no resistance.

The Allies were not cordially received at Basle. It appears, from what I learn, that the generality of the Swiss wished to maintain the decree of the Diet under all circumstances; but if discipline is preserved they

will remain tranquil, and rather aid than otherwise the passage of the troops.

Some Cossacks have been guilty of a partial trespass in the faubourg of Basle, which will no doubt be exaggerated, but the people seem aware that it was an incidental violence.

The means of subsistence is the great desideratum. The Swiss admit that Switzerland can supply considerable magazines if the transport is well arranged. The Austrians move with three days' provisions; and the French territory, so long as the Allies remain, will supply the daily need: but exertion should not relax. I am happy to hear that a month's provision for the total Austrian force is on march from Ratisbon, where there are two months' supply, to be stored at Freyberg.

No. 55.

Memorandum of Operations.

Basle, 23rd December, 1813.

The Grand Army passed the Rhine the 21st December, in five columns, at Basle, Grensach, Lauffenburg, Eglisau, and Schaffhausen. It is to continue its march in Switzerland, and form in échellons from Pierre Pertuis to Berne.

The corps d'armée of Count Wrede is to blockade Huningen, and observe the valley of the Rhine. This corps is to push strong reconnaissances on the route which leads from Nancy to Strasburg, and will attempt a coup de main on Belfort.

The corps-d'armée of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, composed of the Wurtemberg troops and an Austrian division, will support General Wrede.

The corps d'armée of Count Wittgenstein, composed of his own corps and the Baden contingent, will occupy an entrenched camp before Kehl, and connect with the army of Marshal Blucher.

The Russian corps of reserve, under General Barclay de Tolly, will form in échellons between Lörrach and Basle.

The movements of the enemy will decide further operations, and the junction of the columns will be effected in the direction of Langres or Besançon, or move to the right, according to circumstances.

R. W.

No. 56.

SIR ROBERT WILSON TO LORD CATHCART.

MY LORD, Basle, 24th December, 1813.

I have the honour to transmit you a plan of Huningen, traced in the year 1797. The works on the left bank of the Rhine remain as when constructed by Vauban, but the tête-du-pont exists no longer.

I approached as far as the monument of General Batury, killed at the former siege, whence I could distinctly see the place.

An old entrenchment on the left of the monument will offer the best site for our batteries, and the enemy by their constant fire upon this point when any moving object appears, indicate great jealousy of it.

The rest of the ground, encircled by Bourglibre and Neudorff, is quite flat.

The cavaliers of Huningen are very lofty, and the shot passes the two villages above named, so that columns cannot march on the high road.

Whenever your Lordship comes to Basle, I take the liberty of recommending that you send no carriage by the chaussée, as it now runs along the bank of the Rhine under the guns of the fortress.

I passed, as I promised your Lordship not to move upon the Prince Marshal's head-quarters, at speed in deference to your wish; but others making the attempt have suffered and it is no longer practicable in the daytime.

I have the honour to be
Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

Robert Wilson,
Major-General.

24th December, 9 o'clock, P.M.

The enemy made a sortie this afternoon, and dislodged the outposts from the old redoubt and the ground about the monument, but they retired again towards dusk. The loss of the Bavarians was not very considerable.

R. W.

END OF VOL. I.

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